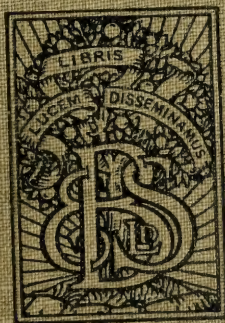


THE BRITISH CITIZEN

A Book for Young Readers

PEDDIE



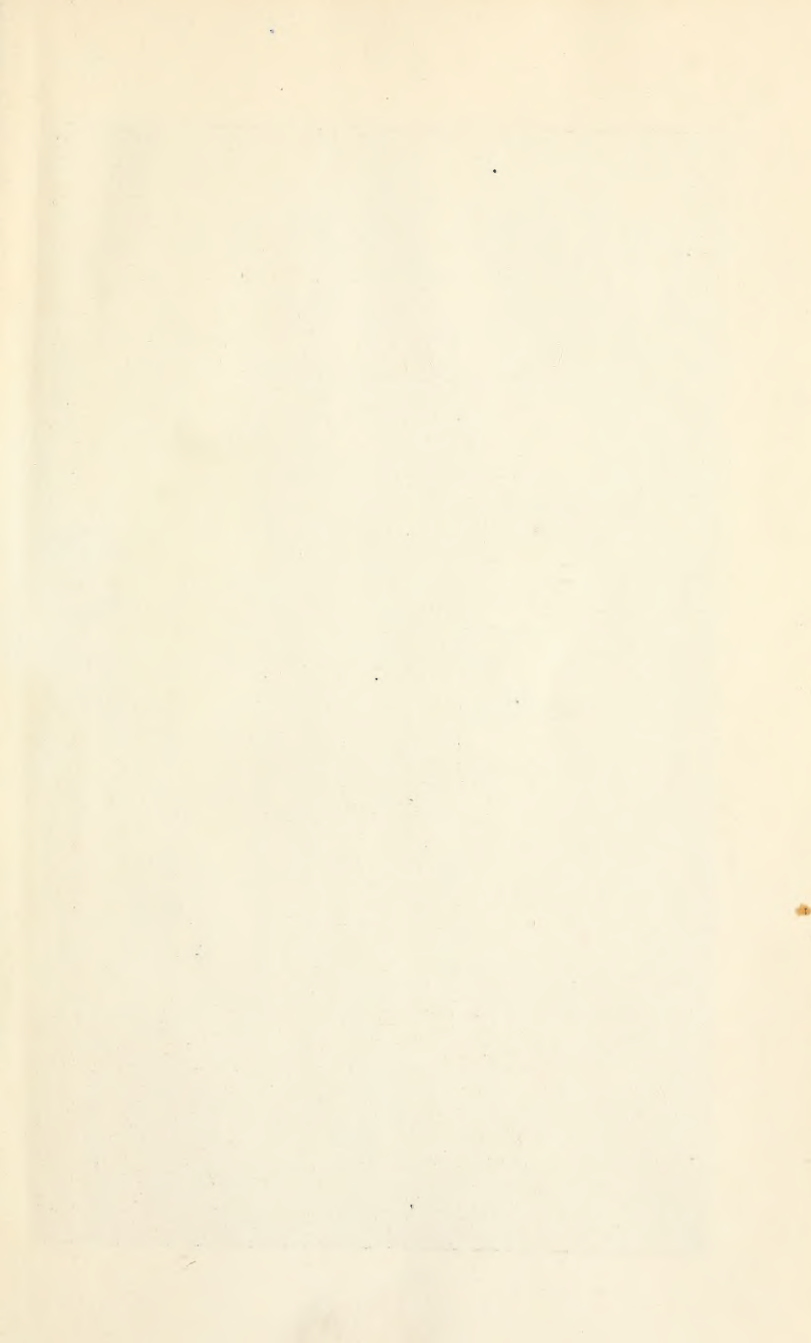
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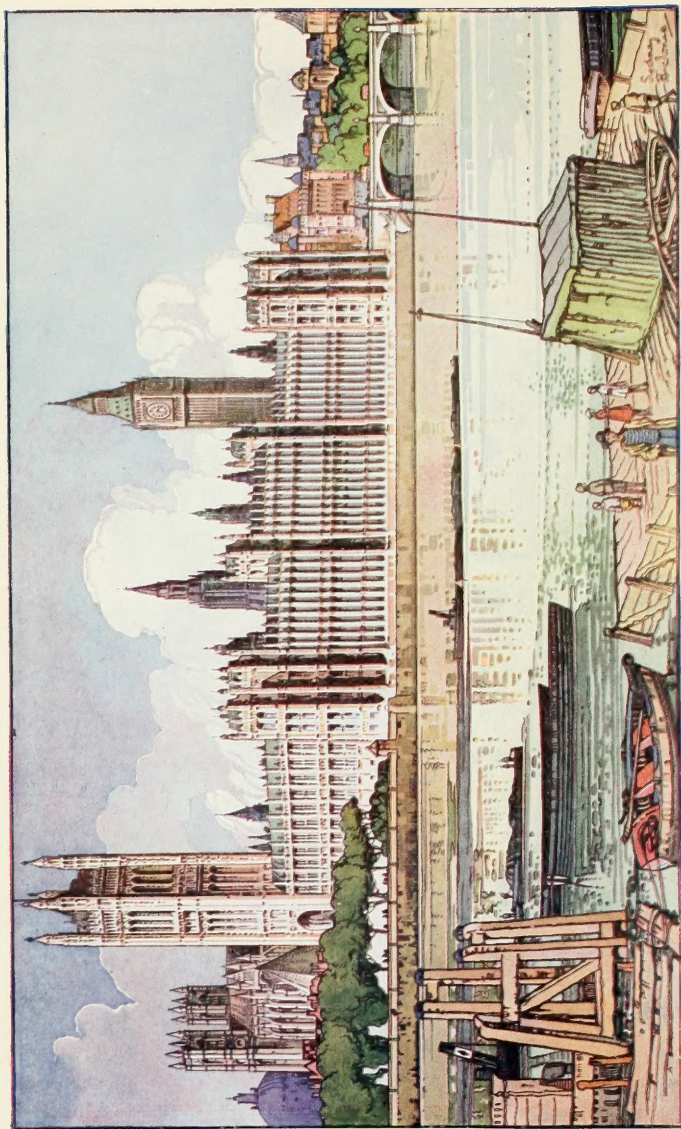


THE BRITISH CITIZEN



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LONDON: THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, WESTMINSTER ABBEY, ETC.

THE BRITISH CITIZEN

A Book for Young Readers

BY

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*I beg to acknowledge the kind permission of
Mr. Rudyard Kipling to quote his poem If
from Rewards and Fairies, and also two verses
from the Dedication to The Seven Seas, Vol. I.*

J. R. P.

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The Cities are full of pride,
Challenging each to each—
This from her mountain side,
That from her burthened beach.

.

And the men that breed from them
They traffic up and down,
But cling to their Cities' hem
As a child to the mother's gown.

‘KIPLING—*Dedication to the Seven Seas.*)

THE BRITISH CITIZEN

CHAPTER I

WHAT IS A CITIZEN?

I

The Great War brought with it many sad things, but also some that were happy, and one of the happiest of all was this—that every soldier realized how dear to him was his native village, or town, or city.

“Where do you hail from?” That was one of the commonest questions a soldier was asked when he entered a new mess or billet.

“Birmingham!” the soldier might answer.

“Birmingham!” would shout one of the men. “Come over here, and we’ll have a talk about the old place.”

And straightway these two men, who probably had never seen each other before, would fall to talking about their city, its streets, and its shops; each would soon discover where the other lived, what schools he had attended, and you may be certain that they would spend a pleasant evening in each other’s company, drawn together by the bond of a mutual love and respect for the place which was their home.

We all have this affection for our native places; and, in reality, it is a kind of local patriotism. How finely Sir

Walter Scott, in his great poem, *Marmion*, indicates his affection for his own "romantic town" of Edinburgh. And Charles Lamb, one of the greatest of English essayists, shows on many occasions his great love of London, its bookshops, its street cries, its quiet spaces, remote from the roar of traffic, its complex, mysterious life.

At school we hardly ever think about this local patriotism, until one day we are due to play a football or cricket match against a neighbouring village or town, and then there comes to our minds a sense that, in playing our hardest for our team, we are keeping up the reputation of our native place.

In the passage from Kipling quoted on p. viii, you will note how he speaks of the pride of cities. He refers to that healthy rivalry which often exists between places; and if this rivalry is made a clean and honest thing, it is all to the good. A man cannot be a good citizen who has no respect for the place in which he passes his life, and no desire to make it as fine and as worthy as other towns with which he is acquainted.

2

It may be your lot some day to go to work in one of the Colonies. Like every colonist, you will often think of your native town, and probably your reflections will run like this:—That was a fine public park we had for games! I remember the sport we used to have in the town swimming baths! What would we have done in the long winter nights without the books which we got from the public library?

Thus your mind will travel, and it may be that you will say: "Well, I took all the good things in the old place as a matter of course, but I did not do much to help to get rid of its ugly features. I'm afraid I was not a very good citizen."

Many men and women, quite late in life, realize, as they have never realized before, how much they owe to the place in which they were reared. It comes to them that they had a thousand privileges—clean, paved streets; abundance of water for all needs; protection from thieves and evil-doers; education; places for recreation; libraries from which to borrow the books they wanted; these and many others. In short, sooner or later, they come to see that they had great privileges.

Now we get to the first great feature of the subject of this book. *You cannot have all these privileges without having some responsibilities, some duties to perform in return for these privileges.*

In the eighteenth century the home Government attempted to force upon the American colonists certain taxes. The colonists had no representatives in the British Parliament to state their needs, and accordingly took strong exception to the imposition of these taxes, saying that they ought not to pay taxes until they were represented in the British Parliament. *No taxation without representation* became their motto. The taxes were their responsibilities; in return they were not to have one of the privileges of citizenship, namely, the right to be represented.

Thus it will be seen that the two *Rs*—rights and responsibilities—go hand in hand. They balance one another in a citizen's life. Let us remember, then, a motto which we might frame thus:—

No rights without responsibilities!

3

A great football match is in progress. Back and forward the ball travels. The crowd watches eager and intent. Suddenly the ball comes to the foot of the centre-half. He sees

the outside-left forward unmarked. Deftly he slips the ball out across the field, and away races the speedy winger.

This player sees that he cannot get quite to the goal himself; he passes neatly to his inside-left; that player, in turn, passes to the centre-forward.

There is a flash! A magnificent shot! The ball is in the net! A great roar of delight rises from the crowded enclosure.

GOAL!

And, amid all the shouting, one man remarks to his friend: "That was a fine piece of combination". "Yes," answers the friend. "Combination tells every time; it's the great essential."

Combination! That is the word on which we want to lay emphasis.

Think how very little we could do in our daily lives if we were merely isolated individuals, having no connection with other persons. Apart from everything else, it would be a miserable life, for every person depends to a greater extent than he perhaps realizes on the relations and friends among whom he passes his days. He becomes a member of society (Lat. *socius*, a companion), and combines with all the other members to obtain a richer and fuller life than would ever be possible if he dwelt in isolation.

Take, as an example of combination in life, the family. In every family each member has certain duties to perform, certain responsibilities. The father has the gravest responsibilities laid upon him—to feed, clothe, house, and educate his children; the mother must take charge of every detail of the household, so that the husband and children, as well as herself, may be properly fed and clothed; her duties as a help-mate to her husband, and a mother to her children, form nearly as heavy responsibilities as are laid upon the husband himself.

From the very moment of their birth children are endowed by their parents with certain rights, and the children should be made to know that in exercising their right to be housed, fed, and educated, they assume towards their parents big responsibilities. If a lad wastes good food set before him, or if he fritters away his time at school, so that, on entering a business or profession, he finds himself badly equipped, he will one day realize that he was a bad citizen of his family. He took the rights as a matter of course, but neglected the responsibilities.

In the family, then, we have in a small measure that combination which is to be found in practically every department of life. In a well-regulated household, in which all the members combine with one another, there will be found a mutual affection between parent and child, between brother and sister, which is one of the most precious things in life.

The family is undoubtedly the basis of all citizenship, and it is important to remember that those countries are most flourishing where the sense of family life is strong. Where *private* rights and responsibilities are fully recognized, the *public* obligations will not be forgotten.

4

Families cannot live in isolation and quite independent of other families any more than individuals can. We turn once again to the fact of combination.

All the families in a village, or town, or city find it convenient to join with other families to secure those things which everyone requires.

A *community* (Lat. *communis*, common) is therefore formed, whereby things may be had in common—a good water-supply, good lighting, well-paved roads and streets, thorough drainage, a public hall in which the inhabitants or their representatives can discuss the affairs of the community.

Wherever we live, then, we are confronted at every point of our daily lives with things that benefit not only ourselves, but every member of the community.

These form the "common good". But they do not exist of themselves; they require to be administered and looked after, so that they do not fall into disrepair.

Hence it is necessary that every citizen should regard himself as a guardian of the public property of the place. It is not given to everyone to be able to take an active part in administering the affairs of the community; but where there is a virile "public spirit" you will find men and women ready, at the cost of their own time and convenience, to give their services on behalf of their fellow citizens without desire for any monetary reward. They are accordingly elected to various councils and boards by means of which public affairs are carried on.

Now, full citizenship, in the narrower sense of the word, implies the right to vote at elections. But to the readers of this book we wish to widen the scope of the term.

You have in this country greater individual freedom than in any land on the globe, and one must realize that this very freedom, which men prize above all things, is secured through the existence of well-regulated institutions of every kind, whereby protection, health, education, and recreation are all obtained.

Accordingly, however young you may be, in enjoying the rights which these institutions secure for you, you must not forget your duties and responsibilities towards them.

If you keep prominently before you the fact that you are combining and co-operating with every other person in your community in maintaining at the highest level those manifold and complex institutions by means of which you enjoy protection and liberty, you are then, in truth, a young citizen.

CHAPTER II

PARISH, BOROUGH, AND COUNTY

In a famous book, the title of which is *From Log Cabin to White House*, we are told the story of James Garfield, one of America's most renowned Presidents.

It is an interesting book, showing how this great man rose from a lowly position in life to be the head of the great American Commonwealth, living in the White House at Washington. When we consider his life, we note how his attention was taken to ever-widening circles of public interest. From being a lowly *private* citizen, he rose to be the most important *public* citizen of America.

We cannot all be Garfields, but we are able, all of us, to direct our attention to the ever-widening circles of government and of affairs which concern the British Empire, just as Garfield did in America. While discharging the *private* duties of his family, every good citizen takes care that he does not neglect the great *public* interests.

To put the matter briefly, it may be said that every person in a community is a citizen of his family, then of his town or city, his parish, his county, his country, and finally the Empire. He has, therefore, a great variety of interesting public affairs which call for his consideration.

Let us examine these increasingly wide circles, each of them forming a unit for government. In so doing we must proceed from the administration of fairly small units, which we shall call *locally* governed units, to the large unit, our country, which is a *centrally* governed unit. The Empire is so vast, and has so many different forms of government in the various colonies, that it cannot be classed under either of the above heads.

I. THE PARISH

Probably nothing illustrates better the lasting power of the Church than the manner in which the word *parish* remains, while other important names have gone out of use.

In Anglo-Saxon times the English township was a cluster of farms or homesteads, surrounded by the township lands, some of which were common property, others of which belonged to the freemen of the township.

These freemen met in council in an assembly known as the *gemot*, and there they fashioned the by-laws of the township, and appointed the necessary men to see that the by-laws were carried out.

Each township lay in a district known as the *hundred*, so-called, it is believed, from the fact that each district included a hundred townships. This district had its assembly, to which representatives of the townships were sent. The *hundreds* were, in their turn, combined to form *shires*.

The name *shire* survives, but we to-day do not use the words *gemot*, or *hundred*, or *township*.

Side by side with the township there existed the name *parish*, used to denote the *township* as far as Church affairs were concerned. Originally it was purely a Church term.

Gradually, through laws imposed upon the country during the reign of the Normans in England, the old *gemot* died out, and was replaced by other forms of government.

The *parish*, however, continued its work, and it became the common practice for the inhabitants to meet in the vestry to discuss their affairs, under the chairmanship of the parish priest, and to give certain powers to the officials of the Church, who were known as churchwardens.

The powers of the churchwardens increased, so that by the end of the sixteenth century, in Elizabeth's reign, they

were given additional important duties, of which the most notable was the post of "overseers of the poor".

In the course of time the parish ceased to be the same unit both for sacred matters and for the affairs of the community. It was found, for example, that with the growth of large towns, the Church affairs could not easily be controlled by the parish. Hence the parish was split up into smaller parishes, and new boundaries were drawn. Gradually this led to a state of confusion, some parishes having no "civil" powers, though exercising the usual Church authority.

In 1894, therefore, a decided step was taken, in English local government, to re-organize the parishes by instituting *Parish Councils*, or, in the case of parishes containing less than 300 of a population, *Parish Meetings*. What had previously been done by the vestry meetings is now done by the Parish Councils, who undertake the proper maintenance of local pathways and byways; they also supervise any local charitable funds, but their principal duty is in relation to the poor.

For the purpose of the relief of the poor, parishes are, in England, united into groups or unions. From each parish certain representatives are elected, and are known as Guardians of the Poor. Together they form a Board of Guardians. In Scotland, on the other hand, parishes are grouped together only when they are very small. The name "Board of Guardians" does not exist in Scotland, where each Parish Council manages its own poor relief.

In every civilized country one of the greatest difficulties which besets the community as a whole is the problem of the very poor. In earlier centuries the countryside was filled with vagabonds—people who adhered to no law and were a source of danger to the community. With the growth of Great Britain's prosperity these vagrants became increasingly fewer, but many still remain who from one cause and

another never do any steady work, but go from one place to another, using the workhouse as a place of shelter. While these people are generally quite undeserving, there is another class of person for whom everyone must have the greatest pity.

Through hardship and misfortune, towards the close of their lives some people find themselves unable to be self-supporting, and accordingly, often with the greatest reluctance, seek refuge in a workhouse.

There they are provided with the means of plain, yet clean and healthy living.

Orphan children, and children deserted by their parents are also cared for by the English Board of Guardians and Scottish Parish Councils. In their case every effort is made to give them the home life which everyone ought to have. People with no children of their own, or who are willing for a small sum to rear these children, take them to their own homes; the children get the benefit of a good elementary education, and, in practically every case, become good citizens.

The Board of Guardians in England and the Parish Council in Scotland have two methods of assisting poor people, one known as *indoor* relief, and the other *outdoor* relief. When a pauper is in receipt of *indoor* relief, he resides in the poorhouse or workhouse; when he is granted *outdoor* relief, he remains at home, and is given a small weekly allowance.

In Scotland, in addition to helping the poor, the Parish Councils control large asylums or hospitals for the relief and care of mentally afflicted people.

2. THE BOROUGH

Like the word "Parish", the term "Borough", in Scotland spelt "Burgh", is an old historical term. We find the word forming part of the name of many places scattered over the British Isles. Edinburgh, Peterborough, Burgh-on-

Sands, Knaresborough are examples of the names of places in which the word is used. It originally meant a strong, fortified place, but long ago it lost any military significance.

Care must be taken to note the difference between a *parliamentary* borough, and a *municipal* borough. The former is an area, whose boundaries are fixed by Act of Parliament, for which a member of the House of Commons is returned. The *municipal* borough, on the other hand, is a definite unit in local government, and as such has very wide powers.

Officials and Burgesses.—In England the municipal borough consists of a Mayor, a certain number of Aldermen, and the Burgesses. The last named are now all the rate-payers who have the right to vote for the election of Borough Councillors to represent them.

In Scotland the Provost is the principal official. The office of Alderman does not exist in Scotland, but his place is to some degree filled by Magistrates, who are elected by the Councillors from among their own number. The Magistrates deal with offences of a minor kind at the local police-courts.

For the convenience of the electors, and to make the machine of municipal government run smoothly, the borough is divided into wards, and each Councillor who is elected to represent his ward sits on the Borough Council for three years.

The first duty of a newly elected Council is to choose the Mayor, or, in Scotland, the Provost. He is always a man who is anxious for the welfare of the borough, and generally has rendered long and faithful service to the community before being elected to this high position, which in most cases is a difficult one to fill with success. While in office he is rightly looked upon as the principal official of the borough, playing the leading part in all the public ceremonies of the town, and acting as Chairman of the Council

at its meetings. It is within the power of the Council to grant him a sum of money wherewith to maintain the dignity of his office.

In England the Aldermen form one-third of the number of the ordinary Councillors, and are elected for a period of six years, one-half retiring every three years. They have duties to perform at public ceremonies, at which they wear a distinctive dress, and at the elections of Councillors supervise the arrangements for receiving and counting the votes.

In Scotland the Magistrates hold office for three years, and must then retire, since no difference is made between them and the ordinary Councillors. They are at liberty to seek re-election if they so desire.

In addition to these temporary officials, there are of necessity certain officials who hold permanent appointments. Most important among the permanent officials is the Town Clerk, whose work is to act as guide to the Mayor or Provost and Councillors. He is thoroughly well-informed on all questions of law, and interprets these laws, which are often difficult and intricate, to the members of the Council. Scarcely less important is the Treasurer of the Council, who takes charge of all matters in the borough relating to public money.

Very often it is found that, while the interest aroused in the election of a Member of Parliament is very strong, there is little keenness on the part of the burgesses to give their attention to municipal elections. This fact is to be regretted, for, since the general comfort of all members of the community is closely bound up with the efficiency of all the institutions of the borough, it is of the highest importance that the best representatives should be elected.

Health of the Borough.—There is no part of the Council's work which is of greater value and importance than the preservation of the health of the community.

It is the custom for many writers, in particular novelists, to write of the "good old days" as if life in the past was a very simple and pleasant affair.

While, doubtless, the remoteness of these times tends to throw a glamour over them, we find, when we come to consider the daily life in bygone days, that matters were not so pleasant as they seemed.

This was especially the case with regard to the means for clean and healthy living.

During the whole of the nineteenth century, the attention of all thinking people was directed towards the betterment of the ordinary conditions of life.

Even in the early days of last century epidemics, on a scale unknown to us, were frequent. Smallpox, diphtheria, and typhus carried off victims in their thousands. The cause was nearly always found in bad sewage arrangements. People threw their refuse out into the street; cesspools were allowed to collect in places so unsuitable that disease was quickly spread. Again, whole families herded together in a single small room, a practice, indeed, which has not yet died out, but which is less frequent now than formerly.

Realizing that prevention is better than cure, the representatives of the people made great efforts to make these bad conditions better, and during the whole of the nineteenth century we can observe the gradual development of good sanitary systems.

The Council of a modern municipal borough, then, directs constant attention to the health of the burgesses. Sanitary inspectors and inspectors of nuisances are employed as permanent officials, to ensure that drainage is properly arranged; the cattle-markets, fish-markets, fruit-markets are all closely inspected, so that the food which is sold to the community is in a fit condition for use. Further, it is always the aim of a good Council to get rid of the slums which may have grown

up within the borough. To let light and air and sunshine into these dark and unwholesome places is a work which cannot be reckoned too highly.

But the preservation of the health of the community is only one part of the Council's wide-spread work.

Gas, Electricity, and Water-supply.—In the majority of large boroughs the gas- and electricity-supply is in the hands of the Council. Constant improvements are sought. The citizens are encouraged to use the labour-saving devices which can be brought about by the use of gas or electricity. The borough is well lighted, and the electric power is now generally utilized to provide a complete system of tramways, by means of which the inhabitants can be conveyed from one part of the town to another at a small cost.

To read the story of the development of the water-supply of many boroughs is to read a romance. How few of us, when we are bathing and washing in the morning, think of the long distance the water has been conveyed. Huge lakes, deep set in quiet and beautiful country places, have been harnessed for the service of towns and cities. The water is brought many miles in great pipes, is carefully filtered, and is freely used without the slightest fear that in the water there is anything injurious. Little wonder that the Councils of many boroughs are intensely proud of their fine water-supply.

Police.—For the protection of the citizens, and to ensure orderly behaviour, it is essential that every borough should have a good staff of police, and in this connection the Council appoints a set of permanent officials, of whom the chief is the Superintendent of Police, who undertakes the general supervision of all grades of policemen, who not only give protection to the citizens, but are ready to put their knowledge of the borough at the disposal of everyone who wishes to be directed to a part of the town with which he may not

be familiar. The policemen control the traffic in all large boroughs, and all who know the work of the policemen in large cities like London, admire their coolness, their easy method of handling the great volume of traffic, and their constant kindness to pedestrians.

The Leisure Hours of the Burgesses.—Finally, and not least important, the Council must provide for the leisure hours of the citizens. Parks and open spaces are carefully tended by them, and in the busiest and most grimy of our manufacturing towns will be found public parks in which games may be played, and public gardens where trees, flowers, and shrubs are cultivated with care, so that they present a delightful picture to the eye. These gardens are a real haven of rest and refreshment to the citizens of large towns, where few opportunities can be obtained of getting out into the open country.

It is nowadays universally realized that, with a book as companion, the leisure time that comes after the toil of the day can be spent with profit and pleasure.

Accordingly, in all modern boroughs are to be found public libraries, from which, at the smallest expense, the citizens are granted the great privilege of being enabled to borrow books and magazines. It is not everyone who can afford to have his own library, but all can join the public library, and by this means enjoy the finest literature of the best authors.

The privilege is not without its responsibilities. The books pass from hand to hand. They are taken to many homes. Popular books are constantly in use. It is therefore the duty of every reader to handle the volumes entrusted to him with care, to see that, while in his possession, they are kept clean and free from ugly markings. A good book deserves good treatment. But whether the book be good or bad, remember that in helping to preserve it in good condition you are playing one of the many parts of a worthy citizen.

3. DISTRICT COUNCILS.

We have already, at various times, noticed the importance of public health. For the proper conduct of all sanitary systems, where boroughs do not exist, District Councils have been established in England. The Urban District Council (Lat. *urbs*, *urbis*, a city), which performs practically the same duties as a Borough Council for the towns and villages which it governs, differs from the Borough Council in having no Aldermen. But in respect of maintenance of lighting, of roads and bridges, of means for fighting fire, of procuring proper slaughter-houses and markets, sewers and drains, its work is the same as that of the Borough or Town Council.

In English country districts the District Council is given the title *Rural District Council* (Lat. *rus*, *ruris*, the country). In Scotland the necessity for *District Councils* has not arisen, owing to the comparative smallness of the numbers of the population.

4. COUNTY COUNCILS.

Although the word *County* dates back to the time of the Saxon kings, it had not, until quite recently, the same significance as a term in local government as the words *Parish* and *Borough*. It had for long been used to denote a certain area of the country, and the map of England shows the division of the country into fifty-two counties, each bearing a name of importance in history. But the County Council is a modern institution, and the areas which the County Councils supervise are not exactly the same as the geographical county. There are in England and Wales sixty-four County Councils, the areas of which are fixed by Act of Parliament.

Officials of the County.—Before the institution of the modern County Council in 1888, the direction of the affairs



Photo. from Compagny, Ltd.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY (WEST FRONT), LONDON

Here are the tombs of our Sovereigns, of poets, statesmen, famous men, "who have filled history with their deeds, and the earth with their renown".

of the county was in the hands of certain officials chosen by the representatives of the Crown. These officials still remain, but much of the power held by them has passed into the hands of the County Councillors, elected by the people.

Of the county officers, the most important is the *Lord-Lieutenant*. He is the representative of the Sovereign in military affairs, and has the privilege of choosing deputy-lieutenants. While the military duties of the Lord-Lieutenant are not now very difficult, he still has the important duty to perform of electing the *Justices of the Peace*.

Prior to the institution of the County Councils the J.P.s (Justices of the Peace) had great power. They met together in a court of law called the Quarter Sessions, and sat as judges on people who had broken the law or created breaches of the peace. In addition to this, they had the care of the roads and bridges in the county; they issued and renewed, if they thought fit, licences for the sale of liquor; they had under their charge the jails and asylums in the county.

Most of these powers have passed into the hands of the County Councils; but the Justices of the Peace still retain the very important duty of issuing, examining, and renewing licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors. They are frequently called upon, also, to witness the signatures of private persons on documents of a legal character.

Another important county official is the *High Sheriff*. His duties are wholly concerned with the law. He receives the judges when they come on circuit, and is required to see that the judgments which they decree are carried out. At elections of Councillors to the County Council he acts as "returning officer", fixing the number and places of the polling-booths, appointing persons to issue at the booths the voting papers, and to see that the voting is carried through in a proper manner, and declaring the result of the election.

In the English County Councils the *Coroner* is another

county official, whose duties are to some degree like those of the Sheriff, except that he has nothing to do with elections. The Coroner carries out the provisions of the law, in most cases of sudden and unexplained death, by summoning a jury, who decide in what way the death has occurred. Under certain circumstances, however, it is now within the powers of the Coroner to hold what are known as "coroner's inquests", without the aid of a jury.

In Scotland, where the office of Coroner does not exist, the Lord-Advocate, the highest Scottish law-officer, may order an inquiry to be held on cases of death which have occurred suddenly and amid circumstances which seem suspicious.

Powers of the County Council.—When we review the duties of a County Council, we find them to be of an extremely varied kind.

In these days when motoring and cycling are indulged in by a great number of people from every part of the country, a frequent topic of conversation is the state of the roads.

In earlier times in this country the great roads which intersect the land were badly kept, so that, especially in winter, journeys made by the "stage-coaches" often ended in disaster. The traveller, also, was often led astray by the poor condition of sign-posts and mile-stones.

Now, however, it is the pride of every County Council to have roads which are well kept and on which sign-posts are clearly visible. Modern science has done much to improve the methods of laying roads, so that to-day the great British highways are as fine as any to be found in Europe. Care and maintenance of roads, then, forms one of the principal duties of the County Council.

Again, if the rivers running through a county were allowed to remain in a filthy condition, disease would spread. It

is a matter of the greatest difficulty to prevent the pollution of rivers, especially if they pass through large towns, and even to-day it cannot be said that such rivers are clean and wholesome. The powers conferred on the County Councils, however, to prevent, as far as possible, the discharge of refuse of every kind into the rivers, are slowly having the desired effect.

Since it is part of the duty of County Councils to maintain large asylums for the relief of mentally afflicted people, and to build and maintain County Council offices, courts, and education offices, it is frequently found necessary to obtain loans of money. The power of raising loans is granted to the County Councils, and thus the proper use of such money is one of the principal duties which faces every County Councillor when he comes to cast his vote as a member of the Council.

The London County Council.—The best illustration of the development of the modern County Council is to be found in the work of the London County Council. Owing to the great size of London, this Council has been granted special powers by Act of Parliament, and some idea of the work involved will be gained when one realizes that no fewer than 20,000 persons are employees of the L.C.C. It would be impossible for one Council, however, to administer the whole of the area over which the L.C.C. has powers, and therefore the area is divided up into twenty-seven boroughs, each of which has its Mayor and Council; these boroughs work hand-in-hand with the County Council in such affairs as the maintenance of roads and the disposal of the refuse. The boroughs undertake local systems of sanitation, which are linked up with the central systems under the charge of the London County Council.

The work of governing London is so involved that, in the same manner as in other great cities of Britain, Committees of Councillors are formed for special purposes. Within the Council, for example, is the Asylums Committee, which has

charge of the building and care of huge pauper asylums, and the Bridges Committee, which undertakes responsibility for the large bridges crossing the Thames. So great is the traffic on these bridges that repairs are constantly required, and improvements are from time to time found absolutely necessary.

Again, when new buildings are desired, the plans and all the details regarding the site must be submitted to the Building Act Committee.

The fame of the London Fire Brigade is known to all. Yet few people pause to remember that this wonderful organization for fighting the flames and preventing the spread of huge conflagrations must be carefully attended to, so that it is kept up to the very highest pitch of efficiency. This is done through the Fire Brigade Committee.

The streets and tramways are under the care of the Highways Committee. Sanitation and proper maintenance of slaughter-houses, water-supply, gas-supply, the testing of weights and measures, are under the control of the Sanitary and Public Control Committee; the large and pleasant open spaces in London, its parks and gardens, and the Victoria Embankment are looked after by the Parks and Open Spaces Committee.

There are many similar committees, but those which we have mentioned will be sufficient to show the complex nature of the administration of London, and the consequent importance of the London County Council.

Of the various institutions by which the county is governed *locally*, the largest are the County Councils, and it is highly probable that in the future these Councils will become more and more powerful. Once again, then, let us remember that the interest which a citizen takes in the government of his country should not be confined solely to the doings of the central government at Westminster.

Some citizens there are who actually boast that they never

vote at Borough or Council elections. The boast is a poor one, for if a citizen takes no interest in the election of those whom he considers best suited to take charge of the community's affairs, he is neglecting his duties as a citizen, and wilfully denying himself one of the greatest privileges which citizenship confers.

In this chapter, one very important branch of the work of English Borough and County Councils has been omitted, namely, the control and administration of Education. This subject is treated separately in Chapter XIII, which also treats of the educational system of Scotland.

CHAPTER III

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

Everyone who goes to London for the first time will, early in his sight-seeing round of visits, seek out the Houses of Parliament at Westminster. If he is wise, he will go across Westminster Bridge, and from the southern bank of the Thames obtain a magnificent view of the Palace of Westminster, which is the home of our Parliament.

Although the present Houses of Parliament are comparatively new, having been built by Sir Charles Barry on the ruins of the old Palace of Westminster, which was burned to the ground in October, 1834, they are yet of absorbing interest, not only on account of their architectural beauty, but from the fact that, ever since the time of Simon de Montfort's Parliament in 1265, the spot on which they are erected has been the seat of the central government of the country.

Westminster, then, is a historic name, and it is impossible to gaze upon the noble features of the architecture of the palace, with its towers and Gothic pinnacles, its beautiful

lines and delicate grandeur, without recalling, in emotion and reverence, the past history of our land. Though the actual building is comparatively modern, it is the symbol of all that has gone before of those struggles and conflicts, those hopes and ideals, which go to make the sum of our history. We recall to memory the names of famous statesmen; we remember great episodes which were crises in our history; above all, we get a sense of strength and calmness, justice and wisdom, for thus does the Palace of Westminster impress us.

In the great national institution of *central* government are three elements to which attention must be directed in turn. All three are of first-rate importance, for the history of the nation is bound up with the changing relations between the three elements, which are (1) The Crown, (2) The Lords, and (3) The Commons.

1. THE CROWN

During the course of the past three hundred years the conception of the powers and duties of the reigning sovereign has completely altered.

The King is best described as a "constitutional" or "limited" monarch, and while many of the old theories with regard to kingship remain, custom and practice have so altered the relationship between the King and his subjects that we have now, as a nation, arrived at a compromise which works satisfactorily and without friction.

In theory, for example, the King is the possessor of all the land in the country; in practice he never lays any claim to it. Again, theoretically, he has absolute freedom in the choice of the Ministers of State and the Judges; but in practice he always chooses his Ministers from the party which has a majority in Parliament, and is guided by the Prime Minister in his choice. No Parliamentary Bill be-

comes law without the Royal assent, but, if both Houses of Parliament are in agreement, this assent is never withheld. In theory he summons and dissolves Parliament; but in practice this is done by Parliament itself, the King's part being merely formal.

In modern times, then, the Sovereign's influence in central government is to a large extent personal. He is in constant touch with his Ministers and advisers, and with numerous persons in every branch of public life, who are able to inform him on currents of public opinion and on the wishes of large masses of the people. Since the Sovereign has been carefully trained from an early age in all matters relating to affairs of the nation, and since he has a unique opportunity of knowing every side of questions that may arise, he is generally able to act as a wise guide and counsellor to his Ministers, who are at all times glad to have the benefit of his judgment.

2. THE HOUSE OF LORDS

The visitor to London who has viewed from the outside the Palace of Westminster will, very naturally, want to know something of the inside of the great building. If it is his good fortune to obtain admission to either House, he will not be disappointed. It is, of course, quite possible to obtain admittance when the Lords and Commons are not sitting, and, since no actual legislation is carried on on Saturdays, admission can be readily obtained. Yet to realize properly the life of a member of the House of Lords or the House of Commons, every citizen should endeavour to gain entrance when the Houses are actually in session.

Let us suppose, then, that it has been our good luck to obtain an order of admission to the House of Lords on an afternoon when the Lords are in session. About four o'clock we present ourselves at a massive doorway just opposite St. Margaret's Church, and pass at once into the

lofty St. Stephen's Hall, along the sides of which are ranged imposing statues of celebrated statesmen of past days, Hampden, Selden, Burke, Pitt, and Chatham being the most outstanding.

We continue our way into a further hall, known as the Central Hall, on the left of which is the entrance to the House of Commons, and on the right the corridor leading to the House of Lords.

At the entrance to the corridor stands a watchful policeman. We satisfy him that our cards of admission are in order, and immediately pass down the corridor, which we find beautifully decorated with frescoes (*i.e.* paintings done on the walls of the corridor) which depict famous incidents in the history of the British Parliament. We see the peers arriving, and interest ourselves in identifying those who are well-known figures in public life.

At a quarter-past four large brass gates are thrown open, and we are directed to the Strangers' Gallery, into which we gain entrance by means of a staircase, on the walls of which are hung notices cautioning us that no demonstrations of any kind must be made in the Gallery.

What a beautiful chamber it is in which we now find ourselves. Truly it is rightly called the "Gilded Chamber". At the opposite end from the Strangers' Gallery is the Throne, "gorgeous in gold", which is occupied by the King when he opens Parliament, and beside it is the Queen's Chair of State, which she occupies at the same ceremony. Over the Throne is a great canopy, and above it three large frescoes depicting episodes in history.

Through the stained-glass windows the daylight comes, "a dim, religious light", and blends the various colours of the chamber into harmony. The gilding of the Throne, the bright crimson of the benches, the azure blue of the roof—on which are painted heraldic devices—the fantastic

carvings and frescoes on the walls are so merged together that nothing seems gloomy or out of place, and in the prevailing quiet of this House we have at first emotions not unlike those which fill us on entering a great cathedral.

But very soon the human interest claims our attention.

Immediately below the Throne we see the Lord Chancellor, the chairman of the House of Lords, seated on a large, crimson lounge, which is called the *Woolsack*. This famous seat is stuffed with wool, and is a reminder to us of those days in the commercial history of the nation when wool was our staple product. The dress of the Lord Chancellor, too, is a further evidence of the strength of old customs which we are unwilling to give up. Over his court dress, with its knee-breeches, black silk stockings, and silver-buckled shoes, he wears a long black gown, and on his head is a full-bottomed wig.

The peers are slowly arriving, and at four-thirty the business of the day commences.

The House of Lords is frequently named the "hereditary" chamber, since, by right of birth, peers of the United Kingdom form the principal section of its members. Sixteen peers of Scotland are chosen for each Parliament to represent their fellow-peers in the House of Lords. The Irish peers, to the number of twenty-eight, are elected for life.

In addition to peers by birth, however, there are certain members of the House of Lords who have been created peers of the realm, but whose titles do not pass to their descendants. Further, the English Church is represented in the persons of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and twenty-four bishops. These churchmen are given the general name of the *Lords Spiritual*, in contrast to the peers, who are known as the *Lords Temporal*.

In modern times the power of the House of Lords has

steadily declined, and accordingly we may find that our visit will be of short duration. Although the House of Lords consists of six hundred and twenty members, comparatively few are in regular attendance; but the peers who do take an active part in legislation are generally good speakers, and frequently the speeches at a debate reach a high level of excellence.

By the Parliament Act of 1911 the powers of the House of Lords were considerably lessened. Up till the passing of this Act it was within the power of this House to reject finally Bills which came to it from the House of Commons for consideration, in accordance with our methods of legislation.

Now, however, any Bill which deals with finance, having been passed by the House of Commons and sent to the Lords one month before the end of a session, must be passed by the Lords without amendment, unless any amendment is agreed on by the Commons.

The House of Lords may delay the passage of a Bill into the law of the land, but it cannot now finally stop legislation. It may reject a Bill passed by the Commons for three successive sessions, but after that period the Bill becomes law without the consent of the House of Lords, whenever the formal Royal assent is received.

One important duty the House of Lords still performs is acting as a final Court of Appeal. If a citizen is dissatisfied with the judgment passed by the ordinary law-courts, it is possible for him to carry his case to the House of Lords. When such a case occurs the matter is, in practice, decided by those peers who at one stage in their career have been judges.

3. THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

In the government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland by far the most important element is

the House of Commons, the members of which are the direct representatives of the large body of the people.

Let us suppose that we wish to pay a visit to this House. We know the date on which we hope to visit the House of Commons, and accordingly write to the Member of Parliament for the constituency in which our home is situated, asking for tickets of admission for that date. If we have neglected to do this, it is possible to wait our turn for entrance into the Strangers' Gallery of the Commons, or we can apply to the policeman in charge at the corridor leading into the Lobby of the House for a card. This we fill up, giving our own names and the name of the member whom we wish to see. If he is present in the House, he will come out and procure for us the required ticket of admission to Members' Gallery, which forms a portion of the Strangers' Gallery.

Having got the necessary ticket, we proceed by way of a spiral staircase to the Gallery and gaze down upon an interesting scene.

The House is in full session. At the opposite end of the chamber, on a raised seat overhung by a canopy, sits the *Speaker*. He is the chairman of the House, and as such has very considerable powers. This title of Speaker is conferred because he is the spokesman for the whole of the Commons in their dealings with the two other branches of central government. It is he who asks from the Sovereign at the opening of Parliament "the ancient and undoubted rights and privileges" of the Commons, "that their persons and servants may be free from arrest and molestation; that they may enjoy liberty of speech in all their debates; may have access to His Majesty's Royal presence whenever occasion shall require; and that all their proceedings may receive from His Majesty the most favourable construction". He reports to the House of Commons the Royal speech at the

opening of Parliament, and presents the addresses of the Commons to the Sovereign.

His most important duty, however, is to act as chairman at all full debates of the House, and when the Speaker is in the chair, his symbol of authority, the Mace, is laid by the *Sergeant-at-Arms* in a prominent position on the large table which runs down the centre of the chamber.

Immediately in front of him sit the Clerks of the House of Commons, clad in black gowns and wearing wigs. Their duty is to record the doings of the House from day to day in the journals of the House, and to prepare the long printed lists of each day's proceedings.

On the benches to the right of the Speaker sit the members of the "Government"; to the left, the "Opposition". On the cross-benches at the opposite end of the chamber from the Speaker, under the Strangers' Gallery, sit the members of the smaller parties.

This division of the House is the direct result of what is known as the *Party System*.

If every man thought exactly as his neighbour, if he saw "eye to eye" with him in everything, we should have a very dull world, and the old saying that there are as many opinions as men illustrates the variety of ideas and opinions which may arise on any topic. In the course of centuries of government, however, on practically all big questions affecting the people as a whole, certain sets of principles or guiding ideals have become more or less fixed, and to these principles men give their adherence.

To maintain their principles men organized parties; and it is now the recognized custom that the party which has a clear majority over the other parties in the House of Commons shall assume the reins of government. The next strongest party undertakes the definite duty of Opposition.

It is a strange word this "Opposition" to use, and it may

be asked why a Government should be "opposed" at all, since it represents a majority of the electors. Well, criticism, if intelligently conducted, is one of the most valuable things in government, as in the ordinary affairs of our lives. The Opposition, by its criticism of the policy and proposals of the Government, makes certain that the legislation will not be done hastily and in an ill-considered manner. The method of having a definite Opposition to the Government provides a real means for debate on all important acts of the Government. Further, it makes certain that the Government shall be kept alert, and ready to prove to the mass of the people who placed the Government in office that it is efficient in the discharge of the heavy duties and responsibilities laid upon it.

4. THE KING'S MINISTERS

When the majority in Parliament is about to begin its work as a Government, the custom is for the King to send for the leading member of the party, and to request him to form a Ministry. This member at once becomes the most important man in the Government, and assumes the title *Prime Minister*. Sometimes the word *Premier* is used instead of the other title, but both titles indicate the same person and office, and in parliamentary speeches and newspaper reports sometimes the one, sometimes the other is used. The Prime Minister may be chosen from either the House of Lords or the House of Commons, but in recent times he has generally been a member of the House of Commons, though that does not imply that in the future the Premier will always necessarily be chosen from what is often called the *Lower House*.

To this distinguished man the King entrusts the formation of a *Ministry*, charging him to nominate to the great offices of State those members whom he considers to be best

suit for high office. These members become the King's Ministers.

Here are some of the principal posts which must be filled:—

First Lord of the Treasury.—Although the Prime Minister is the most important official in the Government, his title is not one which is in any way recognized by the statute law of the country, and, therefore, has no salary attached to it. It has long been the practice, therefore, to give to the Prime Minister an office, recognized by law, which has few duties connected with it, and yet carries a salary in keeping with the distinguished position held by him. He is usually given the office of First Lord of the Treasury, an ancient, historical post, which at one time was of the utmost importance in the financial affairs of the country, the duties of which are now performed by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*.

The Home Secretary.—The duties of this office are of the most varied nature; and of all the King's Ministers he is most closely in touch with the Sovereign. His office is a development of the old office of King's Secretary. All petitions and addresses which are to be presented to the King are, in the first place, dealt with by the Home Secretary.

It is, further, his duty to preserve the "King's peace", that is to say, he is responsible for the maintenance of law and order, and has ultimate control of all kinds of prisons. He advises the Sovereign on all questions relating to the pardon of criminals and reduction of sentences.

So complex did the duties of Home Secretary become that from time to time new offices came into existence, so that he might be relieved of some of his burdens. Scottish affairs are placed in the hands of the *Secretary for Scotland*, matters relating to the health of the people under the *Minister of Health*, affairs concerning agriculture under the Board of

Agriculture, fisheries under the Fishery Board. These form only a few of the many offices now in existence to relieve the work of the Home Office.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies.—On the shoulders of this Minister rest the responsibilities of maintaining the government of the Colonies, with the exception of India, which, on account of its size and of the peculiar problems to be faced in governing the Indian Empire, has a Minister of its own, called the *Secretary of State for India*. The duties of the Colonial Secretary vary greatly according to the kind of colony, some of which are self-governing colonies, and others Crown Colonies.

The Foreign Secretary.—All readers of this book who remember the terrible days of anxiety which preceded the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, will recollect how the eyes of the country were turned on the Foreign Secretary. As the name shows, he is responsible for the conduct of our relationships with foreign countries; he has a principal hand in the negotiation of treaties, and, therefore, has the great burden laid upon him of being the Minister chiefly responsible for those negotiations with other countries which may lead to war. In framing and carrying through treaties of peace, he shares with the Prime Minister duties of an extremely important kind.

This Minister controls the appointments of Ambassadors at foreign courts, and supervises the work of our Consuls, who look after the interests of the country in foreign cities and towns.

The Secretary for War.—This Minister is responsible to Parliament for the proper maintenance of the army, and is assisted in his work by a selected body of soldiers and civilians, called the *Army Council*. By the operation of old laws, the *Army Act* must be passed each year, and towards this end the Secretary for War is required to estimate the numbers of

men who will be needed for the army, and the amount of money necessary to keep the army at an efficient standard.

The five secretaries whom we have now mentioned, that is the Home, Colonial, Indian, Foreign, and War Secretaries, are known as the Secretaries of State.

The selection of a Ministry, however, does not stop with the five State Secretaries.

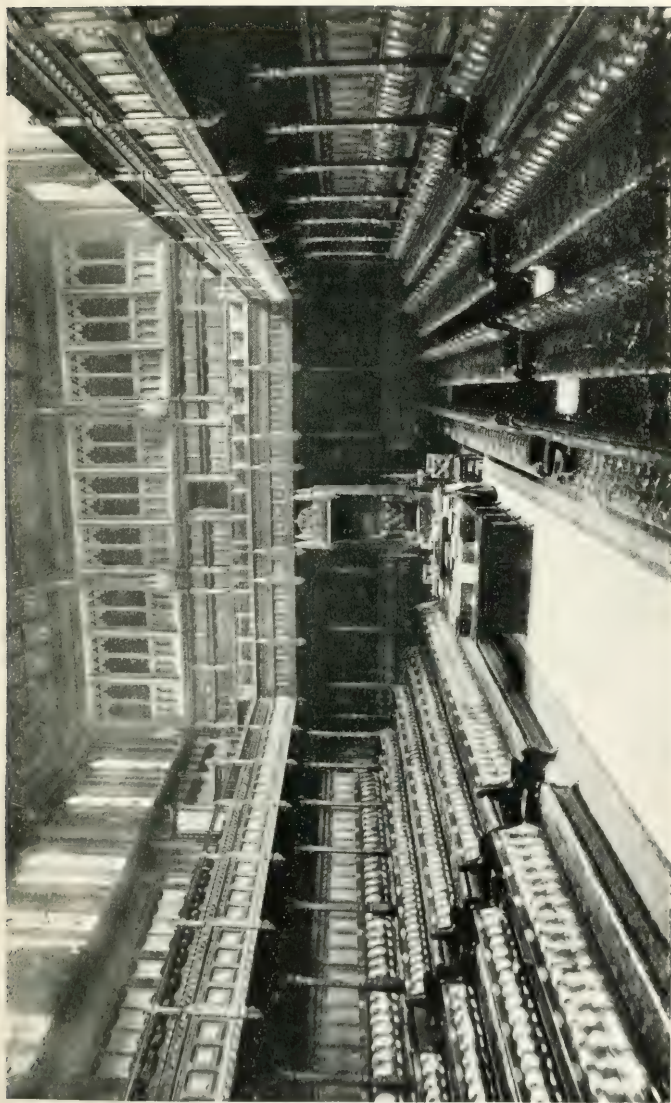
Numerous departments of public life need their own chiefs. Hence in a Ministry the member who is to be responsible for all the finances of the country, *The Chancellor of the Exchequer*, is chosen with extreme care. Similarly, since we are dependent to a very large extent on the efficiency of the navy, the *First Lord of the Admiralty*, who is the head of the *Navy Board*, and who does for the navy very much what the Secretary for War does for the army, is a Minister of the highest importance.

With the growth and development of trade, it was found essential for Parliament to have accurate knowledge of the country's imports and exports. The *Board of Trade*, with a Minister as President, was therefore instituted for the collection of trade statistics, and, as its usefulness developed, numerous additional duties were allotted to the Board, such as the keeping of the Standards of Weights and Measures and the control of trading companies.

Until 1919, the Board of Trade had considerable powers in regulating the construction of railways, docks, and tramways, but this work of widespread importance has now been transferred to the care of the Minister of Transport.

Public health, for many years under the control of a Government Department called the *Local Government Board*, was in 1919 transferred wholly to a newly-formed Ministry of Health.

Further, for the great system which we have in this country for the transmission of letters, parcels, and telegrams, a



H. N. King

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, LONDON

The Speaker's Chair is at the north end of the chamber, with the Clerks' table in front of it. The benches on the Speaker's right are the recognized seats of the Government party, the leaders occupying the Front Bench; the Opposition sits on the Speaker's left

supreme director is necessary. The chief, therefore, of the Post Office ranks as a Minister, with the title of *Postmaster-General*.

The increasingly great claims of education are administered by the *President of the Board of Education*, the work of which we shall have to discuss in detail later in the book.

5. THE CABINET

Try to imagine yourself Prime Minister of Great Britain just for a day, and picture the enormous difficulties of your office.

When you took your seat for the forenoon at your desk in the Prime Minister's official residence at No. 10 Downing Street, you would find an enormous mass of correspondence on an amazing variety of topics. Your secretaries would deal with many of these letters, but important questions regarding the country would be for your personal attention.

Possibly the Home Secretary would come to see you on a grave matter relating, let us say, to a strike of workers in the north of England. He might be followed by the Foreign Secretary, anxious to discuss a delicate question of our relations with a foreign country. The Secretary for India would look in to ask advice on an acute Indian problem.

And further, you might find that the great mass of your party in the House of Commons was awaiting your pronouncement on a big question of policy.

Obviously, then, since as Prime Minister you were not in any sense a dictator, but simply the principal Minister of the Government, you would find it imperative, on all questions that required decisions of far-reaching consequence, to know the views of those Ministers of the King who were holding offices of hardly less importance than your own. You would certainly wish to be certain that this term of Government, of which you held the reins, was properly

harnessed, was pulling together, and moving not as a number of individuals merely, but with a definite general aim.

From such considerations as these, there has grown up in our method of government the *Cabinet* system. Out of the large number of Ministers certain members are selected, who form a kind of committee under the chairmanship of the Premier. The meetings are informal, but minutes or records are kept; the proceedings are always in private, and it is a point of honour for each Minister that nothing is divulged of what passes at Cabinet meetings, unless authority is granted by the Prime Minister to do so.

The Cabinet of to-day is of high importance. Its decisions re-act on all the business of the Houses of Parliament. It is the great co-ordinating and combining element in central government; without it the party in power would have no definite guidance, and would find its influence on the country very small.

It is apparent, then, that the Members of Parliament who are admitted as Ministers to this Cabinet must be men of high intelligence. They must be courageous in their views, but must also be endowed with tact and ability to see other points of view besides their own; while the Prime Minister, to perform his high office well, must needs have a strong personality, and those qualities of firmness and resource which will make him a leader of men.

CHAPTER IV

HOW A BILL IS PASSED

In every good newspaper you will find long reports of the speeches in the Houses of Parliament.

The young reader, doubtless, does not pay much attention

to these reports, thinking that they will be dull and uninteresting. This is not the case, for to follow the debates in the two Houses, to note the acute differences of opinion that arise, to watch the play of intellect and emotion, to see how a great speaker can convince people against their will, and by the force of his personality mould their thoughts, is one of the most interesting studies which lie open to the citizen.

Moreover, no person who has the right to vote at elections can afford to neglect these reports, if he is to perform this act of citizenship in a proper manner.

We must, therefore, be able to understand the terms used in these reports, particularly those which refer to the passage of a Bill, first in the House of Commons, then in the House of Lords, before it finally receives the Royal assent and becomes part of the law of the country.

In theory it is possible for any member of the House of Commons to introduce a Bill; but in practice, owing to the complex nature of modern government, Bills introduced by private members have little chance of passing into law unless they deal with questions on which there can be little or no controversy. The great bulk of legislation is done at the direct instance of the Government.

Let us suppose, for example, that the Cabinet, after prolonged discussion, comes to the decision that large changes are to be made in the educational systems of the country. It decides, accordingly, to bring new proposals before the House of Commons on the subject of education. These new proposals will be designed to make very considerable alterations on existing laws with respect to education.

To the President of the Board of Education, and to the officials at the Education Office will fall the task of framing the new proposals, which will be set down on a document known as a Bill.

On a convenient day the Minister will obtain leave to present his Bill, and the Speaker, naming the Minister, will call on him to present his Bill. Now note the stages:—

1. *First Reading*.—A sheet of paper is brought to the table of the House by the Minister, or the member acting for him. This sheet is supposed to contain all the proposals, but is in reality only a “dummy”, containing no more than the title of the Bill, the name of the member, and the names of any members who are in support of the proposals. One of the Clerks of the House reads out the title of the Bill, and with this formality the *First Reading* comes to an end. In olden times the reading was a reality, now it is simply a method of introduction.

2. *Second Reading*.—After the First Reading the Bill is printed, circulated among the members, and a day is fixed for the Second Reading. This forms an important stage in the career of the Bill. There may be a great deal of opposition to some of the proposals. A big debate, therefore, will develop. The large body of Ministers will be in attendance on the front Government benches, while the Opposition will be in full force on the opposite benches. The fate of the Bill may be decided at once, for if amendments are proposed, the House will “divide” on these amendments, and if they are carried, the passage of the Bill is stopped, and, indeed, the Government may go out of office.

When we say that the House will “divide”, reference is being made to the interesting method of recording the votes of the members on any question. If the Speaker finds it necessary to arrive at a decision on any matter under dispute in debate, he puts a question to the whole House, asking those who agree to what is proposed to say “Aye”, and those who disagree “No”. After the rival cries have subsided, he may say “The Ayes have it”.

Once more the voices of the “Noes” are raised. Therefore

the Speaker allows two minutes to elapse, during which bells are rung warning members in every part of the building to assemble on the floor of the House.

The doors are shut, and again the Speaker puts the question. If he is once more challenged, he directs the "Ayes" to the right, and the "Noes" to the left. The members then pass into lobbies, known as the division lobbies, and are counted as they enter by members deputed to act as "tellers", who announce the result to the House.

3. *Committee Stage*.—If the Bill passes successfully through the Second Reading, the various clauses of the Bill are discussed in detail by members, under the presidency not of the Speaker, but of a chairman elected for this purpose. The Mace is placed beneath the table, and no one occupies the Speaker's chair.

The Bill at this point is subjected to searching revision and amendment, and after it has passed through the Committee stage, very often bears little resemblance to its original wording.

4. *The Report Stage*.—This is a somewhat formal stage. The Bill as it exists, after passing through the Committee stage, is "reported" to the House, the Speaker being in the chair. If, however, no amendments or changes are made during the Committee Stage, there is no Report Stage.

5. *The Third Reading*.—At this, the final, stage of the Bill, as far as the House of Commons is concerned, merely verbal changes in the Bill are allowed, and the purpose of the Third Reading is to make a final decision as to whether or not the Bill should become law.

The House of Lords, which now receives the Bill, discusses all the questions raised in it, and may or may not reject it, subject always to the provisions of the Parliament Act of 1911. The Lords may also refer the Bill back to the Commons with suggested amendments.

Finally, in due course, the Bill receives the Royal Assent, and, passing into the law of the land, its provisions are set in motion by the Minister and his officials who have "fathered" the Bill through all its stages.

CHAPTER V

THE KING'S SPEECH

Of the many quaint customs which still linger in our methods of government, none is more interesting than the State opening of Parliament by the King.

Attended by the Queen, the King drives in his carriage of State to Westminster, and there, in the House of Lords, delivers "the speech from the Throne".

The members of the House of Commons are summoned by an official named "Black Rod" to attend at the Bar of the House of Lords to hear His Majesty's speech, and, headed by the Speaker, the Commons troop in to listen to the speech read by His Majesty.

The speech is not now composed by the King in person. Since its purpose is to give in outline the main proposals for legislation during the session, and to give not only M.P.s but also the general public some notion of the intended policy of the Government, the speech is carefully prepared by the Prime Minister and his Cabinet.

The speech is usually divided into three main parts, and opens with sentences which do not vary from session to session.

In the first section of the speech the King, addressing the whole assembly as "My Lords and Members of the House of Commons", refers to our relationships with foreign countries. Generally this part of the speech is fairly brief.

The second section is addressed exclusively to "Members of the House of Commons", and deals with financial questions, since, as will be remembered, the House of Commons only has power over the public purse.

In the third section His Majesty again addresses "My Lords and Members of the House of Commons", and here all matters relating to home affairs are referred to. It is usual to conclude the speech by invoking "the blessing and guidance of Almighty God" on the duties and responsibilities which Parliament is about to undertake.

The speech having been read, the Speaker returns to the House of Commons, followed by the "Faithful Commons". But the speech is not yet done with.

At four o'clock in the afternoon the speech is again read in both Houses; in the Lords by the Lord Chancellor, in the Commons by the Speaker, who gravely announces that "this House has been to the House of Peers" to hear the gracious speech from the Throne, and proceeds, in accordance with the traditions of his official position, to "report" the speech to the Commons.

Thereupon a motion that "An humble Address may be presented to His Majesty, thanking him for his most gracious speech" is submitted. To be mover and seconder of this motion is regarded as a high Parliamentary honour, and the duty is generally given to prominent young members who appear likely to have a career in Parliament of great promise.

As soon as this formal duty is finished, the serious debate begins, and the Opposition puts down many amendments to the legislation proposed by the Government in the King's speech. Frequently a whole fortnight is spent in successive debates on the policy of the Government as shown in the King's speech.

CHAPTER VI

VOTES AND VOTERS

Defeat of the Government! Parliament to be dissolved! A General Election!

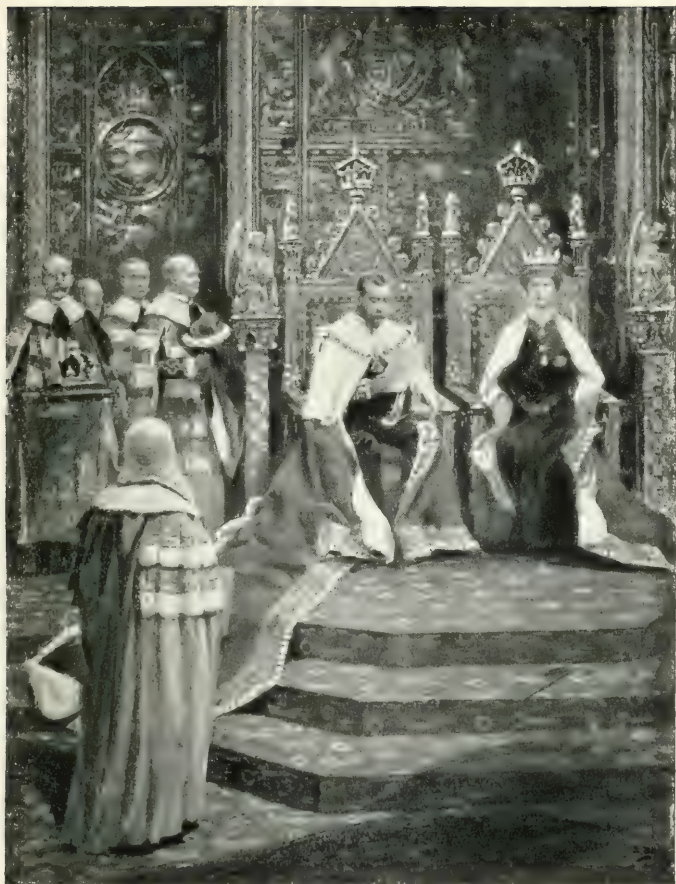
We open our newspapers one morning and find the above headlines staring us in the face. What has happened? we ask. We know that the Government has been steadily losing ground, and that its position is far from secure. Soon we are in possession of the facts. After a long debate of intense interest and excitement in the House of Commons, a division has been taken on a measure to which the Government has pinned its reputation with the electors. It has been a great test case. By a big majority the Government has been beaten, and when the "tellers" give out the result of the division, the members of the Opposition, shouting and cheering, know that their day has come, and that they will have an opportunity of going to the country, not only to stand for re-election themselves, but to endeavour in every possible way to secure a majority in Parliament, so that they will come into power.

The excitement in the House is not long in communicating itself to the country at large, and the great political organizations throughout the land prepare instantly to set their machinery at work.

I. THE DISSOLUTION

When the Government has been beaten on a measure of first-rate importance, it is customary for the Prime Minister and the Cabinet to determine to "go to the country", as the saying is, to test the opinion of the electors, so that they may know whether they have the confidence of the country.

By the advice of the Prime Minister, therefore, the King



THE KING AND QUEEN IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS AT THE STATE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT

The King is reciting the terms of the Accession Declaration. The Lord Chancellor is facing the King, and on the King's right are the Lords-in-Waiting, bearing the Cap of Maintenance and the Imperial Crown.

From a drawing by S. Begg

issues a Proclamation stating that Parliament is dissolved, and directing that a new Parliament be formed. The Proclamation having been issued, it is now the duty of the Lord Chancellor to issue what are known as *writs* calling for a new Parliament. These documents are sent by a Crown Messenger to the Post Office, and the greatest care is taken to ensure that the writs reach the "returning officers" of the counties and boroughs. Here is the form of the writ sent out to the Mayor of a borough. The writ for the counties is almost precisely the same.

GEORGE, by the grace of GOD, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, to the Mayor of the Borough of . . . greeting: Whereas by the Advice of Our Council we have ordered a Parliament to be holden at Westminster on the . . . day of . . . next: We command you that notice of the time and place of election being first duly given, you do cause election to be made according to the law of . . . members (or a member) to serve in Parliament for the said Borough, and that you do cause the name of such members, when so elected, whether they be present or absent, to be certified to us in Chancery without delay.

Witness Ourselves at Westminster the . . . day of . . . , in the . . . year of our reign and in the year of our Lord 19 . . .

This writ is printed on a piece of parchment, measuring twelve inches by eight, and contains in a space on the left hand side the imprint of the Great Seal, and on the right hand the printed name of the Clerk of the Crown.

The Sheriff for the county, or the Mayor or Provost for the borough, having duly received the writ, hastens to issue a large notice regarding the election, and names a date for the

nomination of candidates. In the case of boroughs three days elapse from the receipt of the writ to the day of nomination. In counties the space of time may be extended to nine days.

2. THE NOMINATION

It will be noticed from the above section that only a short period of time is allowed in which to nominate candidates. But, in fact, the candidates are chosen long before the writ is received. It is probable that the Member of Parliament who sat for the borough in the Parliament just dissolved will again be asked to contest the seat, while his rival or rivals have usually been chosen some time beforehand by the supporters of the parties in the borough or county who did not succeed in getting their candidate elected at the contest prior to the one which is now about to take place.

On the day of nomination the Sheriff or Mayor repairs to the building which he has announced as the place where nominations are to be received. The candidates appear, accompanied by their agents, who are organizing the work of "wooing the constituency" for their candidate, and hand over the required nomination papers. These documents contain the full name, address, and profession or occupation of the candidate; next come the names and addresses of the two electors who propose and second the nomination. Below these names appear a list of names of eight electors. These are the "assenting burgesses"; they are drawn from the number of prominent supporters of the candidate. To avoid the possibility of any mistake being made, it is usual for the candidate's agent to get several nomination papers completed.

When this formality has been finished, the Sheriff or Mayor now publishes the names of the candidates, together with the names of the proposer and seconder. Before doing so, however, he must make absolutely certain that the

candidate is qualified by the law of the land to become a Member of Parliament.

The actual day of election is settled upon, and candidates are free to devote their whole energies to the task before them of convincing the electors that they are the right men for whom to vote. Up till the year 1918 elections throughout the country were not held on the same day, and on this account the excitement of a General Election was made the greater. For the results of elections held early had very often a pronounced effect on those which occurred later, and electors throughout the country had the opportunity of judging how the tide of popular opinion was flowing. Nowadays all elections take place on the same day.

3. THE DAY OF THE ELECTION

What an exciting day this is! Even the most apathetic citizen is stirred into enthusiasm. For days previous to the actual day of election, meetings have been held in all public buildings in the area which are capable of holding a crowd of people. Now is the chance for the elector interested in great political questions.

He gets ample opportunity of putting questions to the candidates, and frequently the "heckling", as it is called, becomes prolonged and heated. At times it is the source of great amusement, for, in spite of the serious nature of the task on which candidates and electors are engaged, mirth-provoking episodes are of frequent occurrence; a candidate who can answer his hecklers neatly and pointedly generally gains enormously in popular favour.

Apart from the holding of meetings, the supporters of the candidates have not been idle. Attractive posters are plastered on every prominent spot in the neighbourhood, showing the merits of the rival candidates, and giving in a few stirring words the policy for which the candidates stand.

Leaflets and bills are distributed in every household, and, if the constituency is small enough, each candidate makes an attempt to visit practically every house. Truly, it is not an easy matter to stand as a Parliamentary candidate.

On the day of the election many wear the colour of the Party for whom they intend to vote, and the streets are thronged with the motor-cars, carriages, and vehicles of every description which have been lent to the candidates by their supporters to bring electors to the polling-booths. It is now illegal for candidates to pay money out of their own pockets to hire vehicles for this purpose; but, as we shall see, in older times it was impossible for any man to think of standing for Parliament unless he had a well-lined purse, or had persons of wealth who were willing to be responsible for the expenses he was obliged to incur.

The polling-booths usually open at eight o'clock in the morning, and remain open till eight o'clock in the evening.

Some enthusiastic voters strive to be the first to record the vote, and accordingly are at the door at the moment of opening. But as a rule the voters arrive in a gradual stream right through the day, though now, since the elections are held on Saturdays, the busiest time is the afternoon, when most people are free from the toil of the week. The voter, on his arrival at the place of voting, is the recipient of much friendly attention on the part of the supporters of the candidates. Leaflets and cards are thrust into his hand; he is urgently requested to be sure to vote for Mr. So-and-so; on the whole journey to the actual building he runs the gauntlet of eager and enthusiastic ladies and gentlemen who, with the greatest good humour, strive to put the merits of their candidate strongly before the voter.

The careful elector, however, who has a mind of his own, is little influenced by these friendly attentions. He has read the newspapers; he has followed intelligently the life of the

Parliament which has lately been dissolved; further, he has his principles, to which he intends to stick, and therefore the shower of cards and leaflets and words of counsel have but little effect on him. But in every constituency there are the "wobblers", as they are called—an unfortunate term certainly, for many men may keep an open mind on the question of the party for whom they will vote, and yet be by no means "wobblers". Be that as it may, it is to the undecided people that the supporters at the booths direct themselves, and it is probable that their efforts have a fair measure of success.

As the day goes on the candidates are able to estimate the number of voters who have gone to the poll. Now comes the task of whipping in the laggards, and every attempt is made by both sides to get the highest possible number of electors to vote.

The day wanes; eight o'clock comes; the doors of the booths are closed, and the ballot boxes, having been securely sealed, are taken to some large central building, generally the Town Hall or County Council offices, where the counting of the votes is to take place.

Prior to the year 1918, when considerable alterations were made in the procedure at elections, the results were declared on the night of the polling-day. The excitement was intense; crowds thronged the streets, and speculated as to the hour at which the result would be declared. Inside the building the Sheriff or Mayor and officials appointed for the counting of the votes were working at top speed. Gradually the crowd collected at the entrance to the building. The result would be known soon. Every eye was turned from time to time towards a balcony or prominent window, from which the result was to be declared.

Suddenly a great roar arose from the crowd. The Mayor had appeared on the balcony, and with him the candidates. A hush settled on the huge crowd, and in loud, distinct tones

he announced the result, declaring the successful candidate duly elected. A great yell of triumph rose from the throats of the supporters of the winning candidate. Cheers mingled with the groans of the disappointed burgesses, and amid a scene of indescribable excitement the crowd slowly melted away.

One pleasant feature of this last part of the election was the customary vote of thanks proposed to the "returning officer" by the successful candidate, and seconded by one of the defeated candidates, when the opportunity was taken to offer the winner congratulations. At present the close of the election day is less exciting, since provision is made to allow soldiers and sailors absent abroad to record their votes, and thus a certain period of time must elapse before the result is declared. It is highly probable, however, that we shall soon revert to the old method of declaring the result on the day of the poll.

When the result is at length declared, the "returning officer" completes his work by sending to the Crown Office at Westminster a return to the writ of election, on which he has written the name of the successful candidate.

4. THE BALLOT

The voter of to-day who enters the polling-booth to record his vote little thinks that, had he lived in the earlier part of the last century, his object would have been by no means so easily achieved.

Before the passing of the Ballot Act in 1872, an entirely different method of voting was the custom. In the earlier centuries, whenever a vote of a large number of people was to be taken, the method was very rough and ready. The presiding officer simply called for a show of hands, and after a count of hands raised, declared the result.

In the nineteenth century voting was open. Outside one of

the main buildings in the town wooden erections were constructed, to which the name "hustings" has been given, and it was the unenviable task of the candidates to stand there for long periods, attempting to gain a hearing from the crowd. At these "hustings", too, the votes were recorded.

The whole system was corrupt. Bribery was rampant, and in many instances the candidate with the longest purse gained the required number of votes to take him back to Parliament. Almost the first thing a candidate did was to organize, by means of his agents, a large mob of strong and lusty men, who would escort his supporters to the poll, and ensure that the opposition party did not threaten them on the way, or put them out of the way until the election was over.

Imagine the conflicts between the bodies of supporters. The election went on for days, and business was largely at a standstill. Much bad feeling was created, and, since candidates were not expressly forbidden by Act of Parliament to use their own money to gain the votes of the electors, every kind of bribery was common.

Charles Dickens, in his great novel *Pickwick Papers*, gives us in a humorous fashion an account of an election, at which Mr. Pickwick and his friends played an important part. We are told of the rival brass bands utilized to drown the voices of the candidates. We read the outrageous political leaders of the *Eatanswill Gazette*, the local newspaper which supported whole-heartedly one of the candidates. We read of drink freely supplied, of vegetables and eggs thrown at the candidates, and we are made to realize how difficult a thing it must have been for the ordinary citizen to mount the "hustings" and openly to record his vote.

Employers often took advantage of this open method of election to compel their workmen, under pain of dismissal, to vote in the way desired by the employer; while many a wily workman was able to fill his pockets with money from

both candidates, by promises which he never intended to keep.

In spite of the manifest wrongs to which this bad system gave rise, it was not until 1872 that the method of the "secret ballot" came into force. This is the modern method.

It is the duty of the Parish Overseers in England, and the Valuation Assessors in Scotland, to prepare lists of those entitled to vote in the borough and county. These lists are at hand on the day of election, and have been previously displayed in a public place, so that a citizen who has the right to vote, and who finds that his name has been omitted from the lists, may have his case examined and the error rectified. If, however, his name is not on the Voters' Roll on the day of election, he cannot vote.

As a rule, schools in the borough and county are utilized as polling-booths. In the rooms which are to be used for voting purposes, an official, chosen by the returning officer, sits at a table. On the table he has what appears to be a large cheque-book, and a Voters' Roll.

When the elector enters the room, he is at once asked his name by this official, together with his address, and when his identity has been verified, he is supplied with his voting paper. This paper is torn out of the large book by the returning officer's representative, who, before handing it to the elector, marks on the counterfoil the voter's register number, as it appears on the roll of voters. This representative is also required to stamp the voting paper with the official die.

The voter now retires to one side of the room, where a rough and ready series of desks have been erected, each desk so screened that when the voter is actually placing the required mark on the paper no one can possibly see for what candidate he votes. That done, the elector folds up the paper in such a way as to allow the official stamp to be clearly

shown. Still retaining the paper in his hand, he approaches the table at which he got his paper, and, having allowed the returning officer's representative to glance at the official mark, drops the paper into a ballot box beside the table. Since there is on the lid of the box no bigger aperture than a slit, it is impossible, once the paper has been dropped into the box, for anyone to examine its contents until the boxes are unlocked for the counting of the votes.

In all Parliamentary elections, except in the cases of voting for members to represent the British universities, all that is needed on the part of the voter is to place a cross (X) opposite the name of the candidate for whom he wishes to vote.

In certain other elections, notably those which are held in Scotland for the election of members to the Local Education Authorities, a new system has been given a trial.

It has long been held by certain theorists on public elections that the method of voting described above does an injustice to minorities. Let us take an example of what is meant by this injustice. Let us suppose that three candidates are contesting one seat. We shall call Mr. Smith the Blue candidate, Mr. Jones the Red candidate, and Mr. Robinson the White candidate. When the votes have been counted, the following is found to be the result:—

Mr. Smith (<i>Blue</i>)	3728 votes.
Mr. Jones (<i>Red</i>)	3447 votes.
Mr. Robinson (<i>White</i>)	3120 votes.

Now it is argued that Mr. Smith does not truly represent the mass of the voters. It is true that he has obtained the largest number of votes, but, on counting the votes of electors who did *not* vote for Mr. Smith, it is found that while 3728 electors voted for him, $3447 + 3120 = 6567$ electors voted against him. How then can he be said to represent fully the electorate?

It is to meet cases such as the above that a new system, called the system of *Proportional Representation*, is now on its trial.

By this method the elector is asked to indicate a series of choices. When the system was tried at the General Election of January, 1919, in voting for three members to represent the Scottish Universities, every elector was asked to do the following:—

There were *five* candidates for *three* seats. Opposite the name of the candidate whom the elector wished to have elected he placed the figure 1. And opposite the name of those candidates he was willing to have elected in addition to the candidate of his first choice he placed the figures 2 and 3, in the order of his preference

The method of counting the votes under this system is such that when a candidate is found to have sufficient of the figure 1 opposite his name to give him a clear majority, and so ensure his election, any surplus of votes he may have can be transferred to the candidate against whose name the figure 2 had been placed. The system involves a great amount of elaborate counting and recounting of transferred votes, and while its champions argue that it represents fairly the opinions of the whole electorate, it is doubtful if it will ever attain to the popularity of the simple and direct method which, by reason of its simplicity and directness, has appealed to the large mass of citizens ever since its introduction in 1872.

5. THE CONSTITUENCY

By the year 1830 the new forces let loose on Europe by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars were being acutely felt in Britain. Reform was in the air, and among the many features of public life which were attacked, not the least prominent were the existing methods of election to Parliament.

The distribution of members was felt to be wholly wrong. With the development of the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century, large towns had developed. More and more people were flocking from the country into the towns, thus creating new centres of population. It was felt, therefore, that the time was ripe for a redistribution of seats. Under the existing system a hard and fast rule was applied by which each county returned two members, so that great and flourishing counties like Yorkshire and Lancashire were forced to remain on equality regarding representation with small agricultural counties such as Rutland. Furthermore, large manufacturing towns such as Manchester and Birmingham returned no members. So great had been the alteration of centres of population that the re-distribution of seats became an absolute necessity.

The worst feature of the maintenance of the old distribution was seen in the existence of the *rotten boroughs*, which got their description from the fact that, although they possessed few inhabitants, they had the privilege of returning one, and sometimes two members, while the great towns went without any representation. Not less bad were those constituencies which, owing to the lapse of time, had been wholly deprived of inhabitants, and were no more than geographical terms. Of these the most celebrated was the constituency of Old Sarum, which was nothing more than a mound of earth.

In March, 1831, when drastic alteration in the allocation of seats was long overdue, a Reform Bill was brought in by Lord John Russell. In a famous passage in one of his speeches on the measure, which, be it said, was strongly opposed in Parliament, Lord John Russell finely describes the condition of things then prevailing. Imagine a stranger coming to Britain to make inquiry into the representation of the people, he says.

“What would be his surprise,” Lord John Russell con-

tinues, "if he were taken by the guide, whom he had asked to conduct him to one of those places of election, to a green mound, and told that that green mound sent two members to Parliament? Or to be taken to a stone wall with three niches in it, and told that those three niches sent two members to Parliament? Or if he were shown a green park with many signs of flourishing vegetable-life, but none of human habitation, and told that that green park sent two members to Parliament? If the stranger were told all this, and was astonished at hearing it, how much more astonished would he not be if he was taken to see large and populous towns, full of enterprise and industry and intelligence, containing vast magazines and every species of manufacture, and were to be told that those did not send any representatives to Parliament."

After a bitter fight, this First Reform Bill was carried in 1832, and from that date began the re-distribution of seats on a basis which had a proper relation to the number of the electors. All boroughs which contained less than 2000 inhabitants lost the right to return a member, while boroughs between 2000 and 4000 inhabitants were given the right to return one member only. The larger counties were divided up into electoral districts, and such large towns as Leeds, Sheffield, and Manchester were granted two members each.

Throughout the nineteenth century succeeding Reform Acts were passed, each remaking the constituencies on the principle of the First Reform Act. With redistribution came additions to the total number of seats, so that by the latest Act, which was passed in 1918, no fewer than 707 members are returned to the House of Commons.

6. THE ELECTORATE

The various Reform Acts of the nineteenth century were not confined only to the redistribution of seats. Of no less importance was the necessity for the extension of what

is known as the franchise (i.e. the right to vote at elections, both for Members of Parliament and for members of the various Councils of Local Government which have been described in an earlier chapter).

Prior to the First Reform Act of 1832 comparatively few people had the right to vote at elections. In the counties only certain people who possessed the "freehold" of land were allowed to vote, while in the boroughs Members of Parliament were chosen by the Town Councils, so that the great mass of the citizens had no voice in the election of people to represent them. Reform was urgently needed.

Citizens of large and wealthy towns were indignant at the fact that, because they did not happen to possess land, they were deprived of the great privilege of voting. Such a system as that which based the right to vote on the possession of land and property could not continue. Furthermore, so corrupt had the whole method of Parliamentary election become, that it was possible to purchase a seat in Parliament without any reference whatsoever to the electors.

Lord John Russell's Bill aimed at a great extension of the right to vote, and when the Bill finally passed into the law of the land, not only the landed proprietors, but the merchant classes, and indeed all representatives of the middle classes in Britain, were granted the franchise. In all counties a man was "enfranchised" (i.e. was made an elector) if he was the tenant of a house of at least £50 rental, while in the boroughs every man who had occupied for a space of twelve months a house the rental of which, for the purpose of taxation, was assessed at £10, was given the right to vote.

This Bill was only a beginning to the great extension of the franchise which took place by gradual steps throughout the nineteenth century. Successive Reform Acts in 1867 and 1884 had the effect of bringing to the great mass of workmen this right to vote.

How do we stand to-day? What exactly are the required qualifications for the possession of the vote? Briefly, the conditions may be stated thus:—

(a) All males of twenty-one years and upwards, who have had six months' residence in any place have the right to vote.

(b) All married women over the age of thirty are given the right to exercise the franchise.

(c) All men and women who have owned or tenanted premises in any place for six months are allowed to vote. Women lodgers, however, who occupy furnished rooms are not yet granted the franchise.

(d) All graduates, male and female, of the Universities of Great Britain and Ireland have the privilege of voting for the return of members of Parliament to fill the seats allotted to the Universities in the House of Commons.

(e) No person can vote at a General Election for more than two constituencies.

During the progress of the Great War, in the fourth year of the struggle, an Act was passed by Parliament, called the Representation of the People Act, which, as will be noticed from the above conditions, made a beginning to the extension of the franchise to women, and there is little doubt that, as time goes on, the franchise will again be extended to include a larger proportion of women among the electorate than is granted by the Act of 1918.

By this Act, also, all fighting men, on attaining the age of nineteen years, were given the right to vote, while those men who had conscientious objections against service with His Majesty's forces were debarred from the exercise of the franchise until five years after the end of the war.

Universal Suffrage.—Will universal suffrage (Lat. *suffragium*, a vote) ever come? The question is frequently asked. By *universal* suffrage is meant that every person, male or

female, on attaining the age of twenty-one years, will have the privilege of voting at all elections.

The history of the nineteenth century, and of the first twenty years of the twentieth century, would seem to indicate that such a possibility is not entirely remote. Already the electoral net is widely cast. Would it be to the lasting benefit of the country to enfranchise every person of the age of twenty-one years and upwards? In this question there is very considerable disagreement.

It should be noted, however, that the right to be educated and the right to exercise one of the greatest privileges of a citizen, namely to vote, go hand in hand. Thus, as the means of education are extended, it is reasonable to expect that all young citizens, on attaining the age of one and twenty, will be brought to a clear realization of the grave responsibilities which accompany the right to exercise the franchise. In education alone lies the solution to this great question. If young men or women attain this privilege without being made to understand that they are entering upon a heritage to gain which their forefathers had many a long and bitter fight, is it not most likely that they will have little sense of the magnitude of the right which has been conferred on them? But if, by a sound knowledge of past history, by a thorough valuation of the struggles in which large sections of citizens were engaged at intervals throughout the last one hundred and fifty years to gain a large and generous application of the right to vote, every young lad and girl is made perfectly aware of the honour and responsibility that will be conferred on reaching the age of twenty-one, there is no reason to fear that the vote will be treated with contempt, or utilized at elections, either Parliamentary or Local, without careful thought and intelligent deliberation.

CHAPTER VII

RATES AND TAXES

Where is the money found, it may be asked, with which to maintain the many public institutions of local and central government which have now been described? It must be plain to everyone who thinks of the matter for a moment that great sums of money are required to provide such things as the water-supply, the roads, the drainage systems, and street lighting. Indeed, all those things of our daily life which minister to our general comfort and health are very largely the result of what is commonly called "public enterprise", and are paid for out of the public purse. To this public purse every householder is a contributor. How is the purse filled, and how is it replenished?

I. THE RATES

In connection with this whole question it is, first of all, of the utmost importance to notice that the term *rates* is used with regard to local government, and the term *taxes* with regard to central government. The payments made by citizens towards the upkeep of all the public property of the parish, the borough, and the county are called by the general term *rates*, and are distinct from the moneys contributed by citizens for the maintenance of central government in all its numerous branches, which are called *taxes*.

Before local rates can be collected, it is necessary to determine the amount on which each ratepayer is to be assessed. There must be some general standard on which to proceed. How is a basis arrived at?

On all land and property within the parish, borough, and county is placed a "rateable value". The assessment of this is primarily the work of the Overseers of the Poor.

Valuation Rolls are prepared showing the amount on which the ratepayer is to pay rates. In many instances where citizens rent their houses or shops direct from an agent or landlord the "rateable value" is simply made the same amount as the annual rent. But this is not always the case. Frequently the rent is less than the "rateable value", and, under certain circumstances, may be more. Opportunity is given the ratepayers of expressing their satisfaction or otherwise with the amount of the assessment. After the Valuation Rolls have been publicly displayed for the space of a fortnight, a special Committee of the Council meets ratepayers who wish to appeal against the amount. Each case is gone into, and a final decision is made, which stands good for the year. As a general rule the rateable value, assessed by the overseers for the parish rates, is adopted by the borough and county as the basis for their rates.

There are considerable differences in England and Scotland in the methods of collecting the rates. The Poor Rate, for example, is in England collected by the Overseers of the Poor, and in Scotland by the Parish Council. The Education Rate is a county rate in England and a parish rate in Scotland.

In all large boroughs, however, the methods are very much alike, and the assessments cover a surprising variety of things. On the printed sheets sent out to the ratepayer are put down his "rateable value" and the items which go towards making the total amount to be paid in respect of each £1 of the rateable value. In most instances the rates are payable half-yearly, and the ratepayer is shown the amount of his two instalments, and the dates by which they must be paid. Here are some of the items. The larger we find to be the police, public health, roads, sewage, and domestic water rates; the smaller, such items as libraries, municipal build-

ings, valuation of lands, registration of voters, and juvenile delinquency.

Suppose, for purpose of example, that we find, on adding together the rates for the above things, that the total comes to 3s. 6d. Suppose, also, that the rateable value of the occupier's house is £40 per annum. The total rate he is called upon to pay is, then, forty times 3s. 6d., or £7 in all.

It will be seen at once that this assessment must be done with the utmost care, and not the least important duty of the members of all local public bodies is to secure that these rates are fixed year by year in such a way that, while the greatest efficiency is obtained, thorough economy is also practised. This forms an additional reason to those already described in earlier chapters, why every citizen should take a lively interest in the election of those among his fellow-townsmen whom he believes most fitted for this highly important work; for it often happens that, where the large mass of citizens take little interest in public affairs, the Councillors tend to become less active and careful in carrying out their duties, with the result that needless extravagance is often caused, for which, of course, the citizens must pay.

2. TAXES

Everyone has heard of the Budget, which settles every year the question as to how the nation's purse is to be replenished. For several weeks before the Chancellor of the Exchequer presents the Annual Budget, the newspapers devote much space to forecasts of what form taxation is likely to take. Budget day is one of the great days of the House of Commons, and rightly it is an important occasion, for the finance of the country at large is a matter which affects not only the individual citizen but every branch of trade, and has a powerful influence on our commercial relations with other countries.

The Estimates.—No Chancellor of the Exchequer could

proceed in his weighty task of settling the means whereby the money was to be secured for the maintenance of the nation's great services, the Navy, the Army, the Civil Service, Education, to name only a few, until he had before him estimates from each State office as to the amounts likely to be required for each year. If he had no estimates before him, he might find that he had over-taxed the nation, or, equally bad, that his Budget would not bring in nearly sufficient for the manifold needs of the national services.

In the Autumn of each year, therefore, the officials of the Admiralty, the War Office, the Scottish Office, and all the other branches of the central government, begin their preparations for estimating the amount of money needed for the next financial year. Although the financial year of the nation does not come to an end till the 31st March of each year, it is essential that a beginning should be made a long time ahead.

At the beginning of each Parliamentary session, the Commons, who have, it will be remembered, full power over the finance of the nation, resolve themselves into what is called a Committee of Supply, when they decide what amounts are necessary for the upkeep of the public services. The Ministers in charge of the Departments of State announce what sums they deem to be essential for the maintenance of all the activities of their branch of the nation's affairs, and, very frequently, long debates occur, since members may, and do, object to the policy of the Minister and his method of carrying out the work for which the estimate has been formed. A Minister seldom brings forward proposals involving large increases on previous Estimates for his department without the full knowledge of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, and the defeat of these proposals in the House of Commons means the defeat of the whole Government.

When finally the Estimates have been passed by means of

a Bill called the Appropriation Bill, the Chancellor has now to determine how exactly the money is to be raised. Will he increase the Income Tax? Will he make the tax on tea or tobacco slightly higher than before? Will he increase the Death Duties? Will he put a heavy tax on all motor-cars coming into the country from abroad? These are only a few examples of the thousand questions he must ask himself while in course of preparing his Budget. Whatever he finally determines upon he keeps a close secret, for, if the new proposals were known beforehand, attempts would assuredly be made by traders so to fix their prices that they would not suffer in any way, and the public at large would be the sufferers.

At length the day comes when the proposals for the forthcoming year are to be made known. The House of Commons is in full session, and sits as a Committee of Ways and Means, a title that explains itself, for the House is now about to hear from the Chancellor the *ways* and *means* of raising the money required by the Estimates. The galleries are filled with interested spectators. In a speech necessarily long and often involved, the Chancellor puts forth to the best of his ability a general view of the sums of money which he considers essential to maintain the public services, and announces the definite means by which he intends to raise the money. He may decide to raise the scale of Income Tax, or he may find that it is possible to retain the scale of the previous year, preferring to exact additional revenue by the imposition of a higher rate of tax on certain articles and commodities.

The speech is no sooner finished than the debate on the proposals commences, and if any of the main proposals are defeated, after a division, it is possible that the whole Government may go out of office. As a rule, however, the Chancellor has learned from the debates in the Committee of Supply

what the general attitude of the House is, and has framed his proposals as far as possible to meet this prevailing attitude.

The various proposals contained in the Budget are finally drawn up in the form of resolutions, and on these Bills are framed, which pass through the succeeding stages in the Commons, go to the Lords, and, on receiving the Royal Assent, become the law of the land.

Direct and Indirect Taxation.—It is of the highest importance, in discussing the whole question of the national revenue, that the distinction between a *direct* tax and an *indirect* tax should be properly understood.

Of the direct taxes the most easily grasped is the Income Tax. Every one who has a yearly income exceeding a certain sum, which is fixed by the Budget annually, is liable to pay this tax, and to people who possess only a moderate income, the amount of the Income Tax forms a matter which must be taken into earnest consideration in portioning out the sums which are to be devoted to all the demands which fall on the citizen in the course of his daily life.

At a certain time of the year the Commissioners of Income Tax send out a form inquiring for a full and true account of all the items which go towards making the total yearly income of the ratepayer. The Commissioners then assess the amount of Income Tax to be paid, and this assessment is made on a scale which has been previously set down by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Budget speech. The tax-payer is informed of the amount, and by a stated time is called upon to pay the amount *direct* to the Commissioners.

Another direct tax is that which is levied on the estate left by a person at his death. This tax is known as the Death Duties, and is based on a graduated scale. For persons who leave only a small income, a small charge is made on every £100; this scale is gradually increased

according to the amount left, and in the case of people of wealth the Death Duties are now very high.

Of a nature similar to the Death Duties Tax are those taxes which are raised by means of an embossed stamp placed on legal documents. Without this stamp the documents are not held to be binding on those who sign them. When a man succeeds to property or money, or to an estate where both money and property are involved, he is required to pay a certain amount of tax, the tax being levied by means of the stamped documents on which the transaction is completed. All contracts involving large sums of money are drawn out on stamped documents, the value of the stamp varying with the kind of transaction and the amount of money involved.

By contrast with these *direct* taxes are a much more numerous series of taxes which are paid *indirectly*. A man purchases an ounce of tobacco at 10d. In doing so he is paying an *indirect* tax. The sum of 10d. does not represent only the price of the leaf from which the tobacco is made, and the cost of its manufacture by the maker. It includes also a tax which has been put upon it by the Chancellor in his Budget. This tax is laid upon the manufacturer in the first instance, but with the understanding that, in selling his tobacco, he will so arrange the price that it includes the tax. There are many such indirect taxes which are paid by the consumer of the articles. Tobacco, tea, spirits and wines, sugar, entertainments—all these are subject to the *indirect* tax.

These taxes constitute the source of more than one-third of the whole national revenue, and, therefore, the most complete and thorough organization is necessary for their collection.

Customs and Excise.—In his Budget speech the Chancellor makes his proposals for taxation of goods coming into

the country. When finally these proposals are passed into law, the great branch of the Treasury known as the Customs carries the taxation into effect. The duties of the Customs are now wholly confined to the levying of " Customs duties " on goods as they enter the country, and, towards that end, at every important seaport are to be found the officials of the Customs, whose work is to levy the taxes, and, by a search of vessels as they enter port, to make sure that no goods are smuggled into the country. In the olden days their work was of a kind extremely difficult and dangerous, and many exciting stories have been written of the exploits of smugglers who attempted to get goods into the country free of duty. Readers of Sir Walter Scott's *Guy Mannering* will remember the vivid pictures of Dirk Hatteraick and his fellow-smugglers, and the excellent descriptions of the underground cellars in which the smugglers kept their great quantities of rum, brandy, fine laces, and other goods, which went by the general name of contraband. In modern times the work of a Customs officer, while often difficult, contains little of the excitement and danger which marked his career in earlier days.

On certain articles which are made within the bounds of the United Kingdom a tax is levied, and for the collection of this another branch of the Treasury is employed. This branch, which is called the Excise, supervises carefully the preparation of all intoxicating liquors, and keeps close watch that these liquors are prepared according to certain definite standards which are laid down by law. In days past the Excise officer was no less unpopular than the Customs official. Private persons frequently made these liquors in their own homes, and, of course, wished to escape payment of taxes if they possibly could. It was, accordingly, the difficult lot of the Exciseman to go to these houses to endeavour to find out what quantities had been prepared, and exact the requisite

tax, while all the time he knew that every effort was being made to circumvent him. Nowadays, however, these liquors are practically always prepared in large public distilleries and breweries, and the work of the Excise officer is accomplished generally without difficulty.

The Excise authorities have also the important duty of granting licences, and exacting the tax paid on taking out a licence. No man can sell certain commodities, or keep dogs, or have the privilege of placing upon the panels of his carriage the armorial bearings of his family without a licence. Sporting guns cannot be used without a licence, and thus a large amount of revenue comes yearly into the public purse from the sale of these licences.

It should be noted here, also, that, since the Post Office and the Telegraphs are public property, very large sums are drawn into the nation's revenue from these sources. And, further, from certain lands which originally belonged to the Crown, but which, in the reign of George III, were transferred to the nation, large annual revenues are obtained. These are collected by a department of the Treasury known as the Commission of Woods and Forests.

The Consolidated Fund.—From what has now been said, it will be realized how widespread are these indirect taxes. Every time we purchase a pound of tea or tobacco, or buy a bottle of patent medicine from the chemist, or take out a dog licence, we are contributing in a small measure to the upkeep of the national revenue.

All the taxes we have now described, levied by the Income-Tax Commissioners, the Customs, the Excise, and the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, are paid into the nation's account at the Bank of England, and together form what is called the Consolidated Fund, from which nothing can be paid out except by the direct authority of the House of Commons; and, to procure that the money will be spent with

economy, it is the duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his large staff of permanent officials, who are civil servants, carefully to watch the expenditure of each great department, to examine the accounts with the minutest care, so that the public may be safe-guarded from unnecessary extravagance. During the storm and stress of the Great War, when expenditure was not carefully watched, owing to the pressing needs of the times for all instruments and supplies of war, much waste was incurred of the public revenue, and accordingly, after the conclusion of peace, one of the first duties of the House of Commons was to demand a minute and detailed account of the huge sums voted for the many and diverse needs of the nation, and to restore a proper scrutiny over the spending powers of each Department of State.

CHAPTER VIII

HOW OUR LAWS ARE MAINTAINED

We have now seen how a Bill passes through successive stages until finally, as an Act of Parliament, it is placed upon the Statute Book as one of the laws of the land. If, however, there existed no means of enforcing the provisions of this law, no means of setting the machinery of the law at work, it would remain what is often called a "dead letter". To make our laws operative, therefore, we have an elaborate system of Courts of Law, and of Judges who preside in these Courts.

When one wishes to estimate the progress of civilization in any country, it is necessary to examine the manifold activities of the people. In any such examination we should want to know the methods of government. The general conditions

under which the people lived would engage our attention. So, too, we should want to know what the state of their religion was, how their trade flourished, what sort of roads and railways they had, what kind of literature they wrote. All these things would aid our judgment; but if we omitted to inquire into the Courts of Law, the means of procuring not only the carrying out of Acts of Parliament, but also the defence and liberty of the citizen, and justice for him when he had been wronged, we should miss what is probably the most important factor of all. If we found that these Courts of Justice were corrupt, that the Judge and Magistrates who presided were open to bribery, that there was an inequality of opportunity of redress for the poor man and the rich man, we would be warranted in coming to the conclusion that the civilization of the country under our examination was distinctly backward.

Such an examination of the Courts of Law of the British Empire goes far to reassure us that, compared with many other lands, our civilized life is well advanced. The Courts of Law in the British Isles for over two hundred years have been known throughout the world as being great tribunals in which it is possible for rich and poor alike to be judged with impartiality and fairness. Our Courts of Law are pure, and, being recognized to be free from any taint of the breath of corruption, are, therefore, among the most valued institutions of our land.

It is not an easy matter to understand all the numerous Courts of Law in this country, and to put down exactly the duties of each. The whole matter is rendered more difficult by the fact that English law and Scots law are not exactly the same, for whereas the English law issues directly from innumerable Acts of Parliament, Scots Law interprets these Acts in the light of a regular code of laws, which have been based on the world-famous codes of laws which the Romans

used in dispensing justice in their own land and the lands which they conquered.

I. CRIMINAL AND CIVIL JUSTICE

It must be noted, first of all, in discussing our law systems, that, in general, all cases which come before a Judge or Magistrate are placed under one or other of the two heads "Criminal" and "Civil". While it is not possible to make the distinction between the two kinds of cases absolutely definite and clear-cut, it may be said that in a "criminal" case the Sovereign, through his officials, acts both as prosecutor and judge. If a citizen commits a murder, or a serious assault, or theft, or forgery, he is regarded as a criminal, and as such is prosecuted by the King's officials, the Law Officers of the Crown and the Director of Public Prosecutions, and is judged by His Majesty's Judges. As a rule, in most very serious cases the King's officials take up the whole matter of prosecution, but, nevertheless, it is within the power of every private citizen to act as prosecutor in a case in which he wishes to bring the offender before the Courts of Justice for trial.

Civil justice, on the other hand, is that form of law by means of which one private citizen, or group of citizens, is enabled to bring an action against another for the redress of injuries or grievances done against them. The citizen who brings the action against the other is known as the *plaintiff*. The citizen against whom the action is brought is the *defendant*. In these cases, the Judges, the King's representatives, are solely concerned to dispense justice to the best of their ability. In a *criminal* case, the citizen against whom the action is brought may, if he so desires, get other citizens to speak for him, and may have his case defended by skilled lawyers, but he cannot leave the court until a judgment has been passed upon him. In a *civil* case, on

the other hand, it is perfectly allowable for the plaintiff or the defendant to come to terms, to affect a "compromise", as the saying is, and to leave the court without any judgment having been passed by the presiding Judge.

Civil cases most frequently arise out of broken contracts. One firm promises, and signs a contract, to the effect that it will deliver to another firm a certain quantity of goods of a definite quality by a date fixed on the contract. Very large sums of money may be involved in the transaction. The first firm fails to act up to its promise as shown in the contract, and, accordingly, the other firm proceeds to take *civil* action against the first, so that no loss may be sustained.

Civil actions, again, often arise out of the infringement of the Patents Act. A citizen, having perfected some invention, takes out a Patent, and so acquires the sole right to make his invention. He finds that another citizen, or company of citizens, are manufacturing the same article, that they have copied exactly his invention, and are making money out of the sale of it. He accordingly proceeds to take action in a *Civil* Court against the other person for the restoration of his rights, and for the payment of such a sum as will recoup him for the loss he has sustained through the selling of his invention by the other citizen or citizens.

These are but a few examples. Questions of trespass on lands, slander, and divorce are prominent among the numerous actions brought before Civil Courts.

2. SUMMONS OR ARREST

"I arrest you in the name of the law." Such are the words used by the representatives of the law in taking into charge those who are deemed to have broken the law. Happily very few of us, comparatively, have heard these dread words applied to ourselves; the average citizen has read them only in books, but even there they produce a sense of foreboding.

The arrest of a person is the first step in law proceedings. It is the definite work of the organized police forces of the country not only to maintain order, but to arrest those whom they have found engaged in crime, or whom they suspect of having committed crime. But it should be noted, in discussing the privilege and duties of the ordinary citizen, that every citizen is endowed by law with the right to arrest a person who is actually committing, or has committed, what is called a felony, a general term which includes practically all the more serious offences. But he cannot arrest a person whom he only *suspects*. That power is vested in the police.

Arrest implies that, if necessary, physical force may be used to compel the offender to deliver himself up to justice; but he may also be compelled to attend a Court of Law in response to a *summons*, which is a formal document, ordering him to appear in Court on a specified day, to answer to a charge made against him. Again, when a person is not actually arrested “in the act” by a policeman or citizen, it is usual, if it is desired to arrest him, to issue a *warrant* against him. This is taken by the police to the person’s place of residence, and, in accordance with this warrant for arrest, he is bound to deliver himself up.

3. “BROUGHT BEFORE THE MAGISTRATE”

The next step in the machinery of justice is to bring the accused person before a Magistrate or Magistrates, who are, generally speaking, the Justices of the Peace, selected in each county and borough by the Lord-Lieutenant of the county, under the direction of the Lord Chancellor. In all large cities and towns the place of the unpaid Justices of the Peace is now taken by an official, who, from the fact that he draws a salary, or *stipend*, for his work, is known as a *Stipendiary Magistrate*.

When the accused person is brought before the Magistrates,

the first duty of the latter is to find out definitely whether the person has been justly charged. They must, therefore, proceed to hear all the evidence of the person who made the arrest, and of any witnesses who are able to give support to the prosecutor. If the prisoner does not wish to make any statement in reply to the charge made against him, he is allowed to remain silent, or he may speak in defence of himself if he so desires. The whole object of these preliminary proceedings is to enable the Magistrates to make up their minds as to whether there is a real case against the prisoner, so that they may be able to commit him for trial. If they think, on hearing all the evidence, that what they have heard is not sufficient ground on which to take any further steps in the matter, they may delay until they have heard further evidence, or they may decide at once that there is no sufficient cause for committing the accused to trial, in which case he is at once set free. But if the evidence is powerfully against the prisoner, the Magistrates commit him for trial.

In the event of the charge being of a minor nature, the prisoner is punished on what is known as *summary conviction*. Hundreds of small offences occur, such as small thefts, petty assaults, breaches of the peace, failure to comply with a law regarding the disposal of refuse—all of them offences of such a common kind that the Magistrates are allowed to deal with them at once (i.e. summarily). The punishments for cases such as the above, from the fact that they are so constantly applied, can be quickly decided upon, and the speed with which the whole affair is carried through is of great advantage, not only to the prosecutors, but also to the prisoners, who are not kept in suspense for a long period before knowing the punishment passed upon them.

Should, however, the evidence against a prisoner be of a serious nature, the Magistrates do not deal *summarily* with the offence, but decide that the case must come before one

of the more important courts, in which case the prisoner is committed for trial at the Assizes or the Quarter Sessions.

Since the trial will not take place until these courts are held, it is now the duty of the Magistrates to decide whether the prisoner can be allowed to go on *bail*, if he or his friends make application for this.

An accused person is "let out on bail" in certain cases, not of the most serious kind. A number of persons interested in his case make themselves responsible for him. The accused or his friends pay down a sum of money, named by the Magistrates, on the understanding that, if the accused person does not appear on a fixed date to undergo further trial, this money (or *bail*) will be forfeited, and a warrant at once issued for his re-arrest.

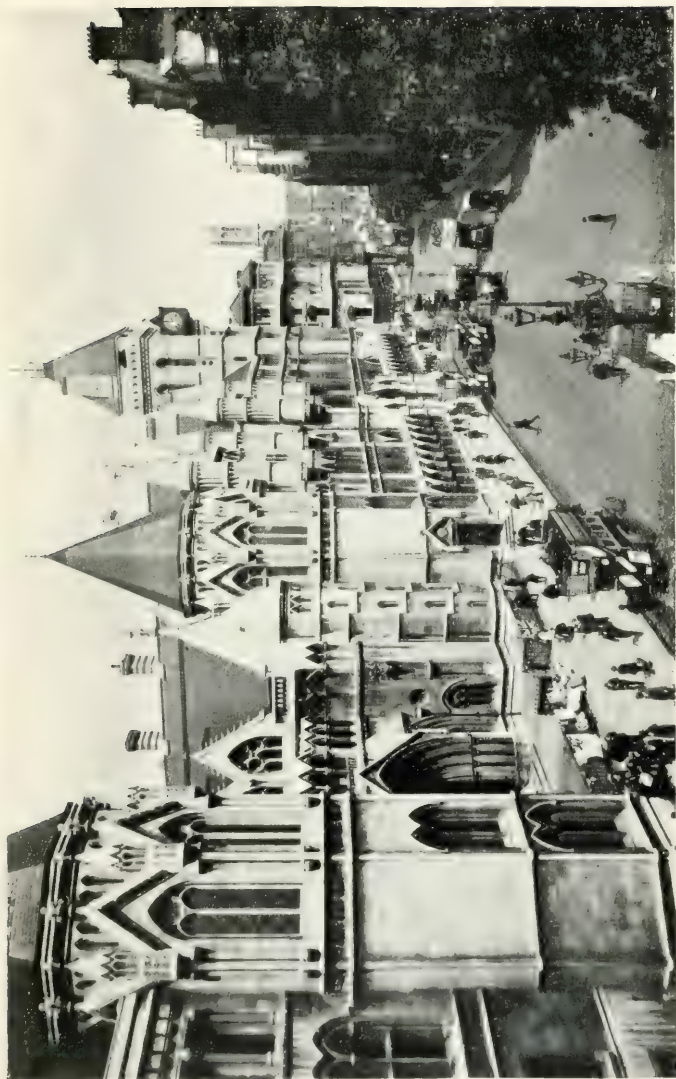
It will be remembered, in dealing with the officials of the county, that the Coroner's business was to hold inquests on cases of sudden deaths or the discovery of dead bodies, and also to make proper inquiry into the causes of fires. If the Coroner's inquest finds a person guilty of murder or manslaughter, if it finds that the setting on fire of a building has been deliberately done (i.e. that the crime of *arson* has been committed), the Coroner's Court has the power to commit the person or persons concerned for trial by a higher court.

4. TRIAL BY JURY

One of the great features of the system of law in Britain is the jury. In every criminal or civil case of a serious nature that comes before one of the High Courts, which we shall describe later, it is the duty of the Under-Sheriff to find a jury. In England this consists of a body of twelve men chosen at random from the list of householders in the borough or county. In cases of specially great seriousness it is necessary to obtain a Grand Jury of not less than twenty-three householders. By this body

of men the verdict on the case is given. One might expect that the Judge, by reason of his official position, would have this power, but it is one of the ancient privileges of citizenship that a wrong-doer should be judged by his fellow-countrymen. In English law the whole of the jurymen must be of the same opinion on the case, that is to say, must present a unanimous verdict, before the accused can be convicted. If they cannot come to a unanimous decision the prisoner may be set at liberty, or he may be required to submit himself to a new trial. In English law, therefore, the jurymen must decide whether the accused is "guilty" or "not guilty". There is no middle course. But in Scotland, where the jury consists of fifteen persons, a majority of the jury is sufficient to convict a prisoner; the jury in Scotland can also steer a middle course, and, when there is very considerable disagreement, bring in a verdict of "not proven". It is within the power of the accused person to object to the presence of any or all of the jurymen whom he may consider likely to be hostile to him at the time of trial, and, in such instances, the Under-Sheriff must find substitutes to whom objection is not taken by the accused.

In the great criminal trials, which evoke enormous interest in the newspapers, and often exhibit both in newspapers and the public which reads them a morbid and unhealthy curiosity, the first duty of the Judge is to ask the prisoner if he is guilty or not guilty. If he "pleads guilty" the case is quickly finished. The Judge sentences the prisoner, and the case is completed. If, however, the accused answers "not guilty" to the Judge's question, the trial proceeds until a verdict is finally arrived at. Upon the plea "not guilty" being proffered, the jurymen are sworn in, solemnly binding themselves on oath to give the evidence their fullest consideration, and to arrive at their final decision according to the very best of their abilities.



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THE ROYAL COURTS OF JUSTICE, LONDON

The prosecutor for the Crown now states the case against the prisoner. Witnesses are brought in, are placed in the witness-box, and, on their oath, reply to the questions put to them by the King's prosecutor or counsel, declaring, according to their oath, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. If the accused person has summoned witnesses, they are now examined by the counsel (or principal defendant) of the prisoner, and may be "cross-examined" by the counsel of the Crown. Until fairly recently, in criminal cases the prisoner was not allowed personally to give evidence, but in modern trials he is at liberty to do so if he pleases, and if he does give evidence, the counsel for the Crown may question (or "cross-examine") him.

When all the examination and cross-examination of witnesses is finished, a process which often goes on for many days, the Judge, addressing the jury, makes a careful and impartial survey of the whole evidence, emphasizing the important features which the questions put to the witnesses have brought into prominence, and finally calls on the jury to retire to consider the evidence and return their verdict.

The jury retires, and after a period of debate on the evidence, sometimes of short duration, sometimes extremely lengthy, the jurymen file back into their places. The finding is communicated to the Judge, who addresses the prisoner, and, if the verdict has been "guilty", passes sentence.

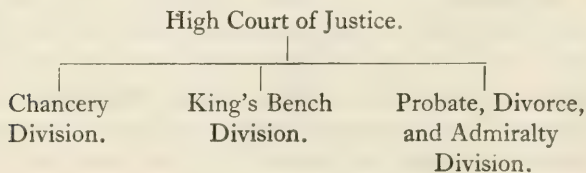
5. BRITISH COURTS OF JUSTICE

We have already heard of the Lord Chancellor as chairman, or Speaker, of the House of Lords. We have now to deal with him in his capacity as head of the system of laws in this country. This position and importance have remained undimmed from those early times when it was the custom for citizens who wished redress of grievances to petition the King in person. In the great hall of the

King was a screen, beyond which suitors could not pass without permission. Here the Chancellor sat. He got his name from the *cancelli*, or screen, at which he presided, giving forth the orders of the King, and admitting petitioners to the Royal person. His office developed as the times advanced, until now the Lord Chancellor is the Keeper of the Great Seal, with which all great documents of State are stamped. This trust is now an easy task; but not so easy are his duties with regard to the law, for he is not only responsible for the appointment of all Judges and Justices of the Peace, but is the principal law officer in the final Court of Justice in the realm, namely, the House of Lords. This is the final Court of Appeal, in which the Lord Chancellor presides over the Judicial Committee, to which are referred all affairs of law which come before the House of Lords. The members of this Judicial Committee are entitled the Lords of Appeal, and are always selected from Judges of the Courts of England, Ireland, and Scotland, who have gained high renown in their profession.

Next in importance come the Courts of Appeal for civil and criminal cases. As the name "Appeal" shows, these Courts are instituted for the purpose of hearing anew cases in which the persons concerned are dissatisfied with the judgment passed on their case in the High Courts. They form an intermediate step between the High Courts and the final Court of Appeal in the House of Lords.

From the Courts of Appeal we pass to the High Court of Justice, which has been subdivided as follows:—



In the Chancery Division are decided those cases which are based on *Equity*. However thorough and searching our laws may be made, it is impossible so to frame them that they cover every conceivable case which may arise. These special cases are therefore judged on their individual merits, and the award is made by the Judge in accordance with fairness, justice, and common sense. That, in general terms, describes what is known as *Equity*.

All questions of Divorce, and those involving Admiralty claims, are settled in the Probate Division.

Undoubtedly the best known of the three Divisions is the King's Bench Division, in which are tried all great criminal cases. The Judges of this Division go, at settled periods during the year, *on circuit*, which means that they proceed to the Assize towns throughout the kingdom to try those cases which are of so great importance and gravity that they cannot be settled by any of the lower Criminal Courts.

In all large towns the Assize Courts, or Assizes, as they are generally termed, are held four times every year, and in the counties thrice every year. Those readers who live in Assize towns will be familiar with the pomp and ceremony which mark the opening of the Assizes. The service in the principal church prior to the opening of the Assizes, the gorgeously uniformed Sheriff with his attendant chaplain, the blowing of trumpets as the Judge enters his carriage, the full-bottomed wigs of the Judges, and their splendid robes, black in the case of the Civil Judge, and red in that of the Criminal Judge—all these outward symbols of the majesty of the law give an effect of dignity and power, which is in keeping with the grave matters for which the Judges have come on their circuit.

When a person has been committed for trial in the manner we described earlier in this chapter, he may be brought before one of several courts. His case may come up at the *Assizes*,

though, if it is not a case of murder, treason, perjury, or bigamy, it can be brought before a court called the *Quarter Sessions*, which is held four times a year, and is presided over by a chairman, who is a Justice of the Peace, and is selected as chairman out of the number of his fellow-Justices who are in attendance. In large boroughs the chairman, or president, of the Quarter Sessions is a paid official, to whom is given the title of Recorder.

If the person committed is taken before neither of these two courts, his case will come up in Central Criminal Court or in the King's Bench Division of the High Court.

The last courts which need be mentioned here are the County Courts, in which certain *civil* actions are heard in cases where not more than £100 is involved, and the Petty Sessions, in which two Justices of the Peace pass judgment on persons accused of assaults or thefts of a small nature.

We have already noted certain differences between the law of England and that of Scotland. Under the Scottish system of imparting justice, the most important court for *Criminal* cases is the High Court of Justiciary. The Judges of this court go on circuit to important Scottish towns, where courts are held similar to the English Assizes. For less important criminal cases Sheriff Courts are held, and for minor offences, when prisoners can be *summarily* convicted, there are courts presided over by a Justice of the Peace in the counties, and the Bailies or Burgh Magistrates in the towns.

For consideration of civil cases the highest Scottish court is the Inner House of the Court of Session, held at the capital in Edinburgh, and next in importance is the Outer House of the Court of Session. The majority of civil actions which do not involve very large sums of money are heard in the Sheriff's Court, and for the hearing of very small actions, in which a sum of not more than £20 is involved, there is a branch of the Sheriff's Court known as the Small Debt Court.

CHAPTER IX

THE NAVY

I. THE NATION'S HERITAGE

The silent Navy!

How little we heard of the fleets that guarded our coasts in the days before the Great War! How little, indeed, we were permitted to know of the dangers and difficulties, the constant hardships, the unceasing watchfulness of our naval men throughout the long four-and-a-half years of the greatest war in the history of the world. The navy's work is done quietly and efficiently. It does not trumpet forth its deeds. The work is done in a grim silence.

In the years before the Great War few citizens kept well before their vision the thoughts of the safety which they were enjoying by means of the navy, the great bulwark of our nation. Folks who lived remote from the sea, whose business, too, had apparently little connection with seafaring, did not concern themselves to any great extent with important questions relating to the navy which, from time to time in the years before the outbreak of the war in 1914, arose in Parliament, and were discussed at length in the newspapers.

Only when the war broke forth did we, as a nation, realize what the navy meant to us. But for it our island home, "this precious stone set in the silver sea", would have suffered the horrors of invasion, and even if that had been spared us, we should undoubtedly have undergone great hardships for lack of food and of those materials from which the munitions of war were made. Food for the armies, food for the people at home, of these we should have been in deadly need.

But for the navy how could Britain have carried on her far-flung campaigns in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Palestine, to say nothing of the war nearer home, in France and Belgium?

Imagine the catastrophe had our navy failed us. Picture to yourselves what would have happened to our troops in these wide-spread and remote theatres of war had the guard over the transport of men, munitions, and provisions failed. What would not our enemies have given to have had command of the seas, even for a short time.

Happily the great traditions of the British navy, fostered throughout the centuries from those brave days when Raleigh, Drake, Frobisher, and their fellows sailed the uncharted seas, have never been lost sight of. A nation which has bred heroes like Nelson, which has gained such signal and world-involving victories as Trafalgar, does not easily lose the spirit and the inspiration of the great traditions which are handed down by men and victories such as these. Thus, when the Great War came upon us, we were on the instant prepared, while from the ends of the earth, and from every British ship that sailed upon the seas, there came the men of our race to man the fleets, to hunt the enemy submarines, to sweep the seas for deadly mines, to patrol and guard our coasts.

The old inspiration did not fail. For we are not, as Napoleon called us, "a nation of shopkeepers", but a maritime people, to whom the call of the sea is natural and inborn, however much, in the days of peace, we forget the heritage that is ours. Every citizen in the British Empire shares this heritage: therefore, as citizens, it is essential that we should, all of us, keep prominently in mind the needs and requirements of the navy. We have seen that it does not advertise its deeds. All the more necessity, then, that, while we cannot all be seamen, we should at least strive to ensure that, though silent, it is not neglected; that, whatever else may have to suffer, the navy is kept in such a condition that it is a constantly efficient means for the guardianship not only of the British Isles, but of the whole Empire.

2. THE ADMIRALTY

In the earlier centuries of our national history the head of all naval affairs was the Lord High Admiral. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, it was found that one man could not be expected to accomplish without assistance those important transactions regarding the navy which affected the welfare of the whole country. A Board of Admiralty was accordingly established. This Board, which meets weekly, has developed, during the last two hundred years, with the increasing responsibilities which were laid upon it as the navy grew in size.

At the present time, as we saw in a foregoing chapter, the head of the Admiralty is a Member of Parliament, and has the title of First Lord of the Admiralty. To him falls the responsibility of maintaining before Parliament the needs of the navy, and of answering all questions that may arise on the subject of naval administration.

He has associated with him four high officers of the navy, who are called the Naval Lords. The remainder of this Board or Committee consists of a civilian, well versed in naval affairs, two secretaries, one of whom deals with financial questions, and the other with naval matters which arise in Parliament, and a permanent secretary, who is a civil servant.

To this Board falls an enormous amount of work, and they are constantly engaged on questions of the highest importance. While it is not possible to enumerate all the matters with which the Admiralty Board deals, a summary can be made as follows:—

1. The *personnel* of the navy. Under this head come all matters relating to the number of officers and men required to man the fleets, recruiting for the navy, length of service, rank, &c.

2. The organization and distribution of the fleets all over the world.
3. Arrangements for coaling and oiling the fleets at various ports in the British Isles, the Colonies, and foreign countries.
4. Naval Construction. This is probably the most important work of the Admiralty Board, for on its decisions depend not only the efficiency of the fleets, but the *strategy* of the navy (i.e. the methods to be adopted in fighting).
5. Maintenance of dockyards, repair yards, ports.
6. Ordnance. The question of the gun-power of the various types of vessels comprising the fleets is a matter of the highest importance.
7. Stores, food, clothing for the fleets.
8. Financial affairs of the navy.

With the development of the navy it was found necessary to define the duties of each naval member of the Board of Admiralty, so that as little confusion as possible might arise. The First Sea Lord, the title given to the first of the four Naval Lords, was made responsible for ensuring that the fleets were kept thoroughly up-to-date. So rapid have been the developments in the navy in recent years, that it became a matter of the highest importance that our navy should not fall behind the navies of other countries. New types of ships were constantly being constructed, guns of a larger size were, at frequent intervals, made the subject of experiment and test, torpedoes and submarines were continually being improved, air-craft, formerly unknown in any kind of warfare, were month by month showing their powers to act as the eyes of the fleets. "The fighting and sea-going efficiency" of the fleets, therefore, was no small matter, and it will be easily realized that the work of the First Sea Lord is of a kind that is a continuous progression, involving not only immensely difficult work, but initiative and resource, and an ability to keep a mind open and receptive towards



COMMERCE AND SEA POWER

From the picture by W. L. Wyllie, R.A., in the Guildhall, London

all new and original ideas and inventions which are presented to him.

The Second Sea Lord has under his charge the recruiting of the fleet. Before the Great War the navy required no fewer than 150,000 men, and it is impossible to tell at the time of the writing of this book whether it will be necessary to increase that number. All questions of the training of the officers and men, their appointments and promotions, are, with a few exceptions, under his charge. He must keep careful watch over the work of the coast-guards, and must maintain the reserves for the navy at a proper standard.

To the Third Sea Lord falls the many serious problems which gather round the questions of material used in the construction of the ships, and in their design. The actual designing of the various types and classes of war-ships is carried out by the Department of Naval Construction, where naval architects of skill and originality are employed in meeting the requirements of the new developments.

The work of the Fourth Sea Lord is probably of a less interesting nature, but is none the less important. The pay of the navy is one of the principal matters to which he must attend. Coaling and oiling the ships, feeding the officers and men, maintaining the means of discipline in detention barracks, settling questions relating to uniform and equipment, medals and rewards—all these things come within the scope of his duties.

3. SHIPS OF WAR

In the "piping times of peace" many citizens were familiar with the spectacle of large masses of the nation's war-ships collected in a single port or estuary, from which they were to issue to proceed, probably, on manœuvres.

What a thrilling sight it was to witness the long lines of

battle-ships, stately and majestic, riding at anchor. Beside them lay the smaller craft, the torpedo-boats and torpedo-boat destroyers, looking like little terriers crouched at the heels of a mastiff. Up and down the long avenues, which the lines of war-ships made, the steam pinnaces dashed and the motor-boats fussed, while the quiet colliers slipped along to take their places alongside the ships whose bunkers required refilling. Everywhere was a feeling and atmosphere of subdued, yet intense, activity. Flags were fluttering from the mast-heads; the sun glinted upon the paint and brass-work of the ships; the ships' cutters were out, their sails gleaming white in the brilliant sunshine. In fine weather the whole scene was dazzling; but possibly it was in dull weather that the citizen who had the good fortune to see such an assemblage of ships realized the might and power of these men-of-war. For then one gazed upon these mighty ships, and caught from their dark outlines a sense of repose, a feeling of strength. The sun was hid; the gay colourings had gone. But strength and reliability remained. Immense and all-protecting security for the citizens of these islands—that is what such a spectacle inspired.

During the Great War the general public, except in isolated cases, saw little of the glorious pageantry of the navy. But the days of peace have come once more, and it should now be possible for the citizen to witness such a scene as we have described. No one should miss the opportunity, if he gets a chance, to see a fleet assembled, for the spectacle will form one of the most memorable incidents of his life.

If you read the records and diaries of great Admirals of earlier days, you will find that they refer frequently, in discussing naval actions, to "ships of the line". These were the ships of the first class whose work was to engage directly with the enemy. The descendants in modern days of the

old "ships of the line" are called by the navy the "capital ships". This general term covers all our great battle-ships and battle-cruisers. In the decisive naval battle off Jutland, in 1916, it will be remembered that the great battle-ships were commanded by Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, the battle-cruisers by Admiral Sir David Beatty.

The construction of the battle-ships affords an excellent illustration of the continual developments in naval power. Some years before the outbreak of the War the minds of the citizens of coast towns and inland towns alike were set in amazement when they read in the newspapers of the launching of a gigantic battle-ship, the *Dreadnought*, which far out-rivalled all the existing battle-ships, and it was the general opinion that we had at last reached the highest point in the building of great ships of war. Not only the size of her hull, but the size of the guns she carried, were regarded as the last word in naval construction. Six other ships were built from practically the same design as that used for the *Dreadnought*. Yet hardly had the last of these six ships been launched than naval construction again took a huge step forward, and, in the year 1911, the *Orion* was built. She formed the first of a class of ship which is now termed the *Super-Dreadnought* class. Matters did not rest there. Larger and more powerful than even the super-Dreadnoughts, ships like the *Queen Elizabeth*, were built at the beginning of the war, and at present the *Queen Elizabeth* class marks the highest point reached. One notable development in connection with ships like the *Queen Elizabeth* is that they are propelled not by coal but by oil fuel.

The battle-cruisers are those ships, built for fighting, which are constructed in such a way that they are able to attain an extremely high speed. That is the first necessity in a good battle-cruiser. The developments which took place in building battle-ships are similar to those which

occurred in the case of the battle-cruisers, speed being the main consideration. The most modern battle-cruisers, such as the *Lion* and the *Tiger*, are able to steam no less than twenty-eight knots.

We pass now to consider the many types of ships which do not rank as "capital ships", of these the cruiser comes first. In times of peace the cruisers are utilized for a variety of purposes, but chiefly for the general protection of British merchant shipping. In war-time their work is of a similar nature. They are required to attack enemy shipping, while protecting our own merchant fleets, and the task is no easy one. During the Great War it was early found that they were hampered by lack of speed, and by insufficient means of coping with submarine attacks. Cruiser squadrons were utilized, also, in searching out the enemy fleets. It was not their purpose to engage in battle, but to act as sentinels and messengers for the ships of the line.

With the invention of the torpedo, which is, briefly, a pointed projectile fired from a vessel by means of compressed air, naval authorities found that a new element had entered into warfare, and that steps had to be taken to meet the new danger, and to provide ships whose work would be the firing of these torpedoes. A large number of vessels were accordingly built to meet the new demand. The vessels were small, since their object was to work in the darkness, creeping towards the great ships until they got sufficiently near to discharge their torpedoes with accuracy.

It was soon realized that another kind of ship must be built, namely, ships whose work would be to destroy the torpedo-boats. Experiments were made with ships of high speed, and before long the torpedo-boat destroyer had been developed to such an extent that the old torpedo-boat passed out of active existence. The destroyers carried torpedoes, and to-day accomplish the double purpose of destroying

enemy ships of a like class and making torpedo attacks on the large ships.

The ingenuity of man did not rest there, however. A ship which would sail not upon the face of the waters, but under the sea, had long been the dream of inventors and of writers of romance. Towards the close of the nineteenth century romance became a practical reality, and the submarine presented itself as a menace to the larger ships, far more deadly in its work than the torpedo-boat. The submarine was able to fire torpedoes without showing any of its own hull, and by many writers on naval affairs, before the Great War, was considered to be so powerful and so unerring in its work as to drive all large ships of war from the seas, and cause a revolution in the methods of naval warfare. We now know exactly what it can do. It can harass all merchant shipping, but it cannot completely paralyse merchant trade. It is powerful against slow-moving ships, but not very effective against ships of high speed. It necessitates that all large ships, when in harbour, should be strictly protected from attack, but it does not prevent them from issuing forth to battle. In a word, it has not done the damage in actual warfare which some naval experts expected from it.

Not the least important branch of work for the Board of Admiralty in the future will be the development of aircraft in relation to ships of war.

At the present time no one can tell precisely what the future of the seaplane will be, but during the Great War it became increasingly useful. Special ships, of a curious design, were built as seaplane carriers, of which the best-known is the *Argus*. From these ships the seaplanes were sent out on scouting expeditions. They brought back most valuable information of movements of enemy ships, and were of great assistance in giving timely warning to our coastal flotillas of the approach of raiding vessels. By means of

wireless telegraphy their pilots were enabled to transmit messages and reports when 150 miles out at sea.

The seaplane was able to "spot" enemy submarines, and in this direction it is expected that great advances will take place. Again, one of the greatest dangers both to ships of war and to the merchant fleets are mines which are spread broadcast upon the seas by enemy submarines. Here also the seaplane was of continual utility, for it was easily able to discover these mine-fields and warn the ships to keep clear.

The various kinds of ships which we have now discussed by no means exhaust the numerous types. After their magnificent work done during the war, we must never forget one type which, day in, day out, hunted the submarines, and trawled for the deadly mines. The "fleets behind the fleet"—the steam-trawlers and drifters, largely manned by skippers and men of our fishing fleets—performed the most trying and dangerous work in a manner which it is impossible to praise too highly.

4. THE MEN WHO MAN THE SHIPS

Everyone knows Jack ashore. Clad in the well-known bluejacket's dress, he brings with him an air of freedom, a heartiness that smacks of the sea and wide open spaces. He is universally popular, and rightly so, for no body of men do their work so thoroughly and with so little complaint. For many years he was badly underpaid, and only recently have his just claims received any consideration. His life is attractive in many ways, but it should also be remembered that, with its stern discipline and its routine, the long absences from home and kindred, the comparative monotony of the food, life in the navy is of a kind that ought to be handsomely rewarded. The training, pay, and rewards to officers and men of the navy ought, in fairness, to be one of the nation's

first responsibilities. Every citizen is in the navy's debt for security and freedom from invasion. Let each citizen, then, keep that debt prominently in mind.

Officers of the Navy.—The lad who wishes to become an officer in the navy starts his career at an early age. At about the age of thirteen and six months he proceeds to the college at Osborne, on passing the entrance examinations. After two years at Osborne he goes to the Royal Naval College at Dartmouth for about the same period, and at the completion of his Dartmouth course goes "afloat" for six months in a training-cruiser. By that time he is about the age of eighteen, and, if his work has been satisfactory, is appointed to be a midshipman, and proceeds generally to further training on one of the capital ships. Another method of joining the navy is to pass "special entry" examinations on leaving school at about the age of eighteen. Cadets of this kind are required to undergo a special training, and become midshipmen at about the age of nineteen. At this stage he receives more advanced instruction in navigation, gunnery, and engineering, and at the end of about two and a half years is made an Acting Sub-Lieutenant, from which he is promoted to the full rank of Sub-Lieutenant after searching tests have been passed on the subjects mentioned above. Let us see, now, the successive ranks through which he must pass to attain the "top of the tree".

1. *Lieutenant.*—This rank is attained by examination, and entitles the holder to command submarines, torpedo-boat destroyers, and other small craft.
2. *Lieutenant-Commander.*—Having been for a period of eight years a Lieutenant, the officer is promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Commander.
3. *Commander.*—To this rank officers are selected from amongst the Lieutenant-Commanders. They are placed in command of cruisers and destroyers; on large ships their

duties are to supervise the general work of the ship, to maintain efficiency and discipline.

4. *Captain*.—Practically all our capital ships are commanded by officers of this rank, who are promoted by selection from Commanders.
5. *Rear-Admiral*.—Captains are raised to this rank by seniority (i.e. as vacancies occur, when the senior captain automatically becomes Rear-Admiral). Rear-Admirals are in command of the cruiser squadrons, or are second-in-command of a fleet of battle-ships.
6. *Vice-Admiral*.—As in the case of Rear-Admirals, this rank is attained by seniority, and carries with it very important posts afloat, and equally important administrative positions ashore.
7. *Admiral*.—In times of peace two Admirals are afloat, one in command of the Home Fleet and the other of the Mediterranean Fleet. As a rule, the Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth, Devonport, and the Nore is an Admiral.
8. *Admiral of the Fleet*.—This is the highest honour to which an officer in the navy can aspire. He is directly chosen by the King, and is always an officer of the highest ability, who has proved his worth by great services to the navy.

In the case of engineer officers the same ranks hold good from Lieutenant to Rear-Admiral, except that the word "Engineer" is placed before the word denoting the rank (e.g. Engineer-Lieutenant, Engineer-Commander).

The medical officers of the navy ascend in rank as follows: Surgeon, Staff-Surgeon, Fleet-Surgeon, Deputy Surgeon-General, and Surgeon-General.

The vast systems of payment of wages and salaries are under the charge of the accounting officers, who rise through the following grades: Assistant-Paymaster, Paymaster, Staff-Paymaster, Fleet-Paymaster, and Paymaster-in-Chief.

Men of the Navy.—A great battle-ship is like a town. It has its citizens, engaged in a surprising number of occupa-



By permission of the Artotype Company.

THE FIGHTING TÊMÉRAIRE. By J. M. W. TURNER (National Gallery)

The "Fighting" *Temeraire* played a conspicuous part in the Battle of Trafalgar, 1805.

tions, who have a spirit of the finest loyalty towards the ship which is their home.

When a boy enters the navy at about the age of fourteen, he goes for a four years' course of training on ships specially set apart for this purpose, and by the time he is eighteen the average lad has become a full-fledged seaman, with the title "ordinary seaman". If he shows himself to be smart and capable in the branch of work to which he is put—gunnery, torpedo-work, or signalling—he soon gets promotion, and it is possible for him, after passing through the ranks of ordinary seaman, able seaman, leading seaman, petty officer, and chief petty officer, to gain commissioned rank as Mate.

In addition to the seamen, there are numerous other branches of the service which a man may join. He may become a stoker, and gain promotion to the rank of petty officer, from which, if he shows ability, he may rise to be a mechanic; or he may join one of the many artisan branches, such as blacksmith, joiner, shipwright, plumber, and electrician. If he decides to take up the medical side of a ship's work, he becomes a sick-berth attendant. Should the accountant branch attract him, there is open for him the post of writer from which he may rise to Assistant-Paymaster. Stewards, officers' stewards, cooks, tailors, shoemakers, sail-makers—all these posts have to be filled in the navy, so that there is no lack of choice of occupation.

Finally, if he wishes to become "soldier and sailor too", the Royal Marines are open to him for enlistment. *Per Mare Per Terram* (By Sea and by Land)—this is the motto of the Royal Marines, and well describes their work. They are required to co-operate with naval forces in effecting landings and in shore fighting; they assist in the maintenance of discipline aboard ship, and are called upon to act as guards at important places on the coasts.

5. THE WORK OF THE NAVY IN TIMES OF PEACE

If our minds naturally dwell on the glorious achievements of the navy in times of war, we ought not, on that account, to forget the work accomplished throughout the centuries in times of peace. It is true that for hundreds of years we have had command of the seas, and Britain's enemies would like to be able to prove that our navy has been a menace to the rest of the world. They cannot do so. It is not too much to say that the British navy throughout the centuries has been a blessing to the world at large.

In times of peace it was the navy's work to make the seas free to the merchant shipping of every nation. For hundreds of years the oceans were infested with those buccaneers and pirates whose names were a terror to the peaceful trader, and whose deeds were inspired by sheer, ruthless villainy. We took a prominent place among seafaring nations in the task of ridding the seas of these pests. Take, for example, the Barbary pirates, who one hundred years ago were the scourge of the Mediterranean. These we finally swept from the seas. Lord Exmouth's expedition not only cleared the Mediterranean of these murderers and robbers, but released no fewer than two thousand Christian prisoners whom the pirates had captured. That is but one instance. There are many such.

The tides and currents of the ocean have been, year in, year out, systematically surveyed by the British navy, and the records published for every nation to use. Soundings of the seas, geographical surveys, the recording of ice-tracks, every kind of scientific work which would help to make navigation safer, must be placed to the credit of the British navy. Had this country kept the information gained in the work to itself, we might have been accused of a selfishness which, doubtless, it would have been hard to defend. But

the facts are otherwise. On vessels flying the flag of every foreign country are to be found those nautical volumes which are the fruits of the navy's unceasing research and diligence. We have command of the seas. But we have been, and still are, deeply conscious of the great trust which fell to us hundreds of years ago, and in publishing to the world the results of the navy's work, we are acquitted of all selfishness. It is to the lasting fame of the British navy that it serves, in times of peace, not British citizens alone, but the citizens of every clime and nation.

CHAPTER X

THE ARMY

I. THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM

In any discussion of the means for the defence of the British Empire the navy naturally comes first; for, situated as we are in these sea-girt isles, and possessed of an Empire on which the sun never sets, the senior service must be our primary concern.

With the huge armies of continental nations we have no desire to compete, and our statesmen realize that we cannot permanently maintain a huge navy and an equally huge army. In view of the military effort made by the nation during the Great War, it is a little difficult to keep these facts in mind; the gigantic armies raised by us in the greatest war in history loom large in the imagination. Yet for these armies the navy formed the bridge. Without it we were helpless.

It has long been the policy of this country to keep, in times of peace, an army of moderate size, well-equipped and up-to-date, ready to move at an instant's notice when called upon for active service.

The history of the army is a curious one. In days gone by, when the power of the King largely depended on the size and reliability of his army, fierce quarrels arose over his right to keep a "standing army". A large army was always looked upon with suspicion, and this was only natural, since it was so often used not for the good of the whole nation, but to enforce the will of the King and his followers on large masses of unwilling citizens. Gradually the real control of the army passed from King to Parliament, and by slow degrees a system was evolved by which the army was a truly national affair. An interesting relic of old-time quarrels and difficulties over the army is to be found in the fact that, theoretically, the army exists only for one year, and at the end of every year the Secretary of State for War must apply to Parliament for permission to keep a standing army of a definite size, and for money to keep the army in a fit condition to meet the calls made upon it.

This country has always believed in the voluntary system. Only under the exceptional stress of war did we resort to conscription (or compulsory service) which had for long been a feature of the national policy of France and Germany, and, in the future, there is little doubt that this country will return to the old methods.

In times of peace a man joined the army of his own free will, but, once enlisted, he was required to bind himself to serve for a certain number of years. No compulsion was exerted; and it is the belief of the majority of British citizens that this voluntary system produces a finer type of soldier than can be obtained by any other method. We are proud of all who have served in the Great War. But in those dark days of 1914, when the little British Expeditionary Force came to the timely aid of the hard-pressed French army, at the heart of our pride was a great thankfulness towards these magnificent soldiers, the products of our voluntary system,

who, withstanding the onslaughts of enormous masses of enemy troops, turned the tide of war, and laid the foundations of final victory. All honour to those great men of the old Regular army, of whom, alas, only a few now survive!

2. THE ARMY COUNCIL

As we saw in an earlier chapter, the Minister of State in charge of military affairs at the War Office is the Secretary of State for War. He is the President of the Army Council, which contains seven members.

In the "King's Regulations", a large volume well-known to soldiers, because it contains all the principal rules and regulations concerning the duties of officers and men, discipline, rewards and punishments, uniforms, medals, enlistment and discharge, the Army Council is detailed as follows:—

1. The Secretary of State for War.
2. The first military member (the Chief of the Imperial General Staff).
3. The second military member (the Adjutant-General to the Forces).
4. The third military member (the Quartermaster-General to the Forces).
5. The fourth military member (the Master-General of the Ordnance).
6. The civil member (the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State).
7. The finance member (Financial Secretary to the War Office).

The duties which fall to each member are to some degree denoted by the name of their rank and station. Each military member is at the head of a district branch in the War Office. The Chief of the Imperial General Staff is responsible for the important work of the military defence of the Empire.

The training of all the troops, and their organization for war is attended to by the General Staff branch of the War Office, the officers for this branch being selected by the Chief of the General Staff.

The Adjutant-General's department is no less important. The discipline of the army is his chief care. Throughout the course of hundreds of years laws relating to soldiers, as distinct from civilians, were gradually formed. The difficulties of administering these laws were very great, since there was no clear distinction between civil laws and military laws. In 1881, however, most of these difficulties were cleared away by the passing of the Army Act. The provisions of this Act are carried out by the Adjutant-General's branch.

To this same member falls the duty of organizing and supervising recruiting for the army, the distribution of the forces, and the carrying out of promotions of officers. He has, furthermore, the supervision of all medical equipment, and the important questions of sanitation in barracks, camps, and billets are undertaken by his department.

The work of the Quartermaster-General centres round matters of supply for the forces. Ammunition, clothing, stores of every kind, except medical stores, come under his survey, together with the organization of the means of transport and distribution. For the care of all army horses this department is responsible. In time of war the Quartermaster-General's branch is required to organize the embarkation and landing of troops, the allocation of billets and quarters for the troops in any area of war, the general supply of the food and ammunition of the army, and the proper maintenance of the great postal systems which spring up when the troops go abroad.

Ordnance is an old term which used to denote artillery. The old word is retained in the title Master-General of the Ordnance; but the military member of the Army Council

has under his organization not only artillery, but every kind of weapon necessary for each branch of the service. Coastal fortifications are also under his charge.

The work of the civil members of the Army Council will be readily understood. The Under-Secretary for War, as the name implies, is assistant to the Secretary, and on his shoulders are laid the many and involved details of the large schemes agreed upon by the Army Council. The financial member is responsible for the economical handling of the money from the Consolidated Fund, which is voted each year by Parliament for use by the army.

To ensure the satisfactory maintenance of troops in various parts of the kingdom, the British Isles are divided up into areas. The military term for each area is a "Command". Thus, for work with the troops in Scotland, there is the Scottish Command; for Irish troops, the Irish Command; for troops in the north of England, the Northern Command, and so on. Each Command has its offices at a town, from which it can do its work most conveniently, and the departments of each Command are organized on the same lines as the War Office departments, to which they are responsible.

3. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY

Until the army is reorganized, we cannot tell what the future of the various branches is to be. At the present moment no pre-war numbers are of any value, so that we must be content to describe in the most general terms the parts which go towards the making of the army machine.

Everyone has heard of the "Division". The history of famous Divisions, like the Guards Division, the 51st Division, the 15th Division, is writ large in the annals of the Great War. We mention these three Divisions as examples, but, indeed, there is no need to pick out any

particular Division for special mention, where all did their work so thoroughly.

The Division comprises masses of men representing practically every branch of the army, and for this reason it is convenient to dwell upon its organization for a little. In it there are representatives of Infantry, Artillery, Cavalry, Engineers, Army Service Corps, and the Royal Army Medical Corps. The Division is a unit of about 18,000 men, and several Divisions taken together comprise what is known as an Army Corps. At the beginning of the War a Division comprised the following:—

A

1. Three Infantry *Brigades*.
2. Each *Brigade* is made up of *four* Infantry Battalions. There are, therefore, *twelve* Infantry Battalions in the Division.
3. Each Battalion is made up of *four* Companies.
4. Each Company has *four* Platoons; each Platoon has *four* Sections.

B

1. *Three* Brigades of Royal Field Artillery, with their Ammunition Columns.
2. *One* Howitzer Brigade and Heavy Battery with their Ammunition Columns.

C

1. *One* Squadron of Cavalry.

D

1. *Two* Companies of Royal Engineers.

E

1. *One* Divisional Train. (The general term *Train* is used to denote the officers, men, and equipment of the Royal Army Service Corps attached to the Division.)



SONS OF THE BRAVE

From the painting by P. R. Morris, A.R.A., in the Leeds Art Gallery

F

1. A Divisional Ammunition Column.
2. Signallers.

From the fact that infantry constitutes the largest portion, such a Division as we describe above is called an Infantry Division. It should be remembered that the Infantry Division is a part of the method of organizing troops for war; in times of peace the various branches of the service are not brought together in this way except when on manœuvres.

The army, as a whole, underwent many changes and modifications during the nineteenth century, and after the experience of the South African War it was felt to be absolutely necessary that the whole army should be reorganized, so that the various parts of it could be made to fit together quickly in the event of war.

The task was undertaken by Lord Haldane in 1906, and the fruits of his labours were witnessed in 1914, when we were able to place a well-equipped and finely trained Expeditionary Force in France within a very short time from the outbreak of war. Lord Haldane had to stand a great deal of unfavourable criticism when his schemes were first made public, for he was making big changes, which involved a break with many fine traditions of the past. The wisdom of his schemes has been more than justified by the events of the Great War.

What, in brief, were Lord Haldane's schemes? He wished to weld together the Regular army and those Reserves which the country possessed in the Militia, the Volunteers, and the Yeomanry. The Militia was composed of officers and men enlisted for home defence, who did a few weeks' training each year. The Volunteers and Yeomanry were citizen soldiers who enlisted for a period of years, were required to do a certain number of drills per year, and to attend camp, though

this was not absolutely necessary. Valuable as these bodies of troops have been, it was felt that their training was not sufficient, and that they were not properly linked up with the Regular army. How to use this material in a better way was the great problem.

In the infantry, then, the army was organized so that the Regulars would consist of the Guards—Grenadiers, Coldstreams, Scots, and Irish (the Welsh Guards were formed after the war had commenced)—and seventy-four “regiments of the line”. Apart from the Guards’ regiments, each regiment had *two* battalions of Regulars.

The Militia was abolished, and a third battalion was added to each regiment, called a “Special Reserve” Battalion, the officers and men of which did a certain amount of training every year, and bound themselves to go upon active service whenever called upon. The battalion thus formed was named the 3rd Battalion (e.g. 3rd Battalion, East Surrey Regiment, 3rd Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment).

The Volunteers also ceased to exist, and in their place was raised the Territorial Force. This body, which was composed of citizens who enlisted voluntarily, after the same manner as the Volunteers, was organized into battalions which bore the same name as the Regular regiments, the number of the battalions alone being different. The administration of this force was accomplished by means of Territorial Force Associations set up in each county; prominent citizens willingly came forward as members of these associations, to help the new movement.

But infantry was not the only branch which was reorganized. The artillery was brought up-to-date, the Royal Army Medical Corps and Royal Army Service Corps were made much more efficient, and the Special Reserve and Territorials were reorganized, so that they possessed units of not only infantry, but artillery, cavalry (which still retained

the old name Yeomanry), Royal Army Medical Corps, and Royal Army Service Corps.

The result was a great success. When the order went forth in the early days of 1914 for mobilization (the calling out of all our troops), the whole of the army, whether for active service or for home defence, was mobilized in two days, so that the Army Council was able to carry out at once the decision of Parliament to send the Expeditionary Force, the bulk of the Regular army, to France and Belgium.

Another important step taken by Lord Haldane was the institution of the Officers' Training Corps. His advisers and himself were well aware that, if by any unhappy chance war broke out upon a large scale, our great difficulty would be to procure in a short time officers who would have a good knowledge of military affairs, and so would be able to lead the men who volunteered. In the universities and public schools were to be found convenient places at which men and lads of the right stamp could be trained while going on with their ordinary studies. The Officers' Training Corps was therefore formed in 1908, the Senior Division for the universities, and the Junior Division for the schools. This organization has proved its value. In the early days of the war it rendered magnificent service by supplying officers to the new battalions which were being raised with great speed, owing to the enthusiasm which prevailed for service in the country's time of greatest need.

More recently the War Office authorities, noticing the physical benefits which resulted from this training, decided to institute Cadet Corps on a large scale for boys throughout the country. The Territorial Force Associations were utilized in this connection, so that to-day there are flourishing Cadet Corps in all parts of the land, "affiliated" or linked to the Territorial Force, and through it to the great regiments of the line, whose deeds fill every boy with pride and admiration.

Although the main bodies of troops in the British army are occupied in home defence, we are required, also, to maintain armies in the colonies and the Indian Empire. The larger colonies have their own systems, and are not organized by the British War Office; but in such places as the West Indies, Malta, Sierra-Leone, Hong-Kong, Singapore, Mauritius, Ceylon, and the Straits Settlement small British forces are kept as garrisons. The Regular battalions of most of the regiments in the British army spend certain periods of years in India, and are assisted in their duties by loyal and finely-trained native troops.

4. OFFICERS AND MEN

Lads who wish to become officers in the Regular army do not need to start upon their training at so early an age as is necessary for the navy. Periodically, examinations are held for lads of about seventeen and a half to nineteen years for entrance to the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. At Sandhurst the training is for Cavalry, Infantry, Royal Army Service Corps, and the Indian army; at Woolwich for Artillery and Engineers. The courses of instruction at these schools are very varied, every branch of military science being studied. At the end of two years, if the cadet passes his examinations satisfactorily, and proves likely to be a leader of men, he is gazetted as Second-Lieutenant. Partly by examinations and partly by seniority, he advances successively to the ranks of Lieutenant and Captain. As vacancies occur, he is promoted to "field rank", that is, to Major, and thence to Lieutenant-Colonel. By this time he is a thoroughly equipped officer, and if he shows himself keen and alert, eager to learn every branch of his work, and an approved leader, both by physical courage and by intelligence, he rises to the rank of Colonel, and may,

in the course of time, receive promotion through all the grades of the higher ranks, and will be in command of bodies of troops such as the Brigade and the Division. He may also be given administrative posts of the most important kind. From Colonel he would be promoted to Brigadier-General, thence to Major-General, Lieutenant-General, General, and, finally, it might be his lot to crown his career with the rank of Field-Marshal.

In earlier centuries, and throughout most of the nineteenth century, the private soldier was looked upon as a man who joined the army because he could not make his way in any other walk of life. He was regarded as rough, uneducated, drunken, evil-tongued. Unfortunately a great deal of this was true; but the times have changed, and the Regular soldier of to-day is an intelligent, well-educated man, who proves his value to the nation not only while he is in the army, but when, on his final discharge from the forces, he becomes a good and reliable citizen.

Many things have gone towards the great betterment of the private soldier. He is now well paid, his food is good, his body is developed by a skilfully planned system of gymnastics, he is under the tuition of army schoolmasters, and by his officers he is treated as an individual, not merely as a unit in a great machine.

For the ambitious man the army offers many attractions. He will soon find himself promoted to non-commissioned rank as Lance-Corporal. From that rank he rises in due course to be Corporal, then Sergeant, Staff-Sergeant, and Sergeant-Major. These promotions are highly valued, not only on account of the increased pay which they bring with them. A non-commissioned officer holds very responsible rank. He is trusted by his officers, and without him his battalion or battery would be a very inefficient body of men. It has often been said that the non-commissioned ranks form

the backbone of the army. There is great truth in this statement. If an N.C.O. gains the respect and trust of the men over whom he is set, he is able to make his influence a power for good, not only in actual fighting, but in all the daily details of a soldier's life. He is the real link between the officers and the men, and an officer is always well content when he has under his command good non-commissioned officers; for he knows that discipline will be well maintained, that his men will be fully trained, and that the whole body of men over whom he is set in charge will possess a sense of unity, which is absolutely necessary for success either in war or peace.

It was Napoleon who said that every private soldier carried a Marshal's baton in his knapsack. By this well-known saying he implied that in his armies it was possible for the humblest soldier to rise to the highest rank, if he showed himself possessed of the qualities that made for the great leadership. The British army believes in Napoleon's remark, and thus it is provided by the Army Regulations that non-commissioned officers are able to gain commissioned rank. Thousands of our soldiers who, prior to the Great War, were non-commissioned officers or privates are now commissioned officers. Of the famous instances in the history of the British army which manifest the truth of Napoleon's statement two may here be added. In the South African War one of the most celebrated generals in the army was Sir Hector Macdonald. He was in his early youth a Volunteer in Aberdeen; he joined the Gordon Highlanders, won his commission on the field for his deeds of valour in Afghanistan, and rose to be one of Earl Kitchener's right-hand men in the Boer War.

No less famous is General Sir William Robertson, who commenced his career as a trooper in the Lancers, and is now one of the half-dozen highest officers in the British army, having won his exalted position in the military affairs of the

nation by sheer hard work, great ability, and a stern determination to succeed in his profession.

5. THE CITIZEN AS SOLDIER

One of the greatest poets and novelists of the last century was George Meredith. In his novels it was one of his chief objects to show to the average British citizen certain defects in the national character, and very often he contrasted us unfavourably with other nations. Yet deep in his heart was a great love of his country, and when he was a very old man, in one of his last poems, named *The Call*, he wrote the following words:—

“ The grandeur of her deeds recall;
Look on her face so kindly fair;
This Britain! and were she to fall,
Mankind would breathe a harsher air,
The nations miss a light of leading rare.”

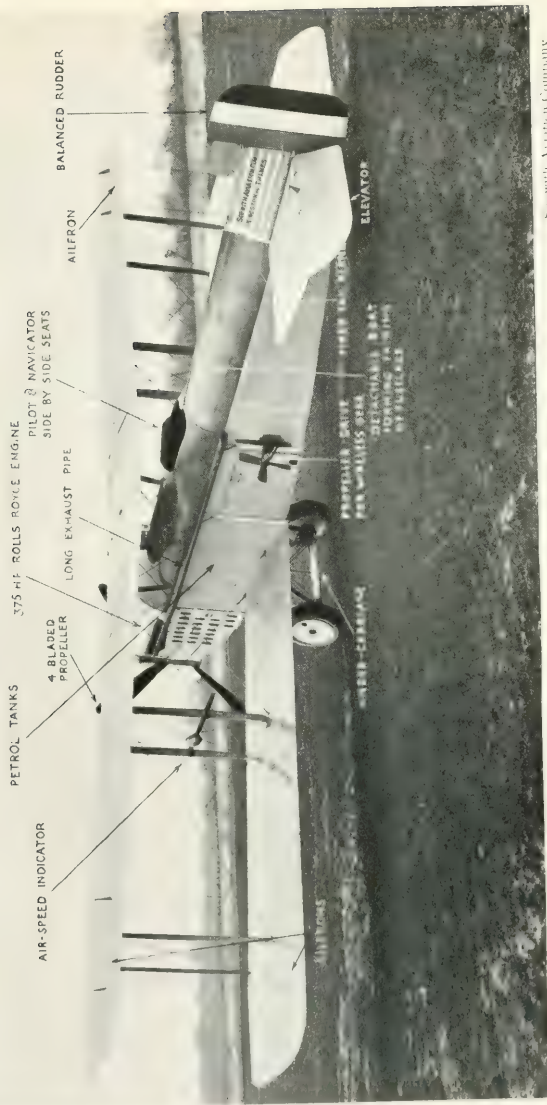
Had these words been penned by a young man on the threshold of life, it might have been possible to say that he was merely an unthinking enthusiast, and that he had no right to make for Britain the great claim set forth in the lines above. But they came from a man who had studied, long and deeply, nations and men. He knew Europe better than did most men of his time; he was a keen critic. Therefore, when we read these words which came from this man, written, as they were, in the ripe years of his life, we know at once that they express not merely the thought of a moment, but the deep convictions of an author who knew that the “call” which he made would not fall upon deaf ears.

What is the nature of the “call” which this poet makes to us? What is implied in it for the citizens of these islands? Assuredly Meredith meant that the history and the deeds of Britain were such that there is laid upon each citizen a duty,

a responsibility, which is to see to it that, for mankind's sake, this nation does not fall.

It is not merely that we, as citizens, are called upon to defend our country for the sake of our own lives and those of our dependents. The poet's claim is greater than that. Meredith wrote these lines with the full knowledge of what this country has done for the world. With every justice we can claim that in the fight for freedom—freedom as individuals, freedom of thought, freedom of religious belief, freedom for those who were slaves, freedom for those oppressed by the laws and deeds of despotic rulers—Britain has been in the vanguard. Thus it comes that, all the world over, we are renowned for the toleration and liberty which is enjoyed by the citizen. To the nations which are backward in these things we are an inspiration. To all oppressed nations these islands are havens of refuge.

If such be the case, how great is the responsibility of the citizens of Britain! In every country the citizen has one great duty, which is the defence of his land from foreign invasion. It is not only a duty, it is a privilege, a birth-right. In Britain, as we have seen, we have not, except under the most urgent circumstances, *forced* a citizen to perform this duty. Statesmen in this country have held by the voluntary method. Every British citizen is free to choose whether he will prepare himself or not for the active defence of his country. It is not the purpose of this book to enter into any controversy as to the merits of a compulsory system as against a voluntary system. Let it be sufficient to point out that it is the task of every citizen of Britain to decide this question for himself. It is not a question which can be cast aside. And, in making his decision, he is called upon to remember the wider duty which we have tried to show by reference to George Meredith's verse—that duty which he owes not only to his country, but to all mankind.



See with Aviatron Company.

AN AEROPLANE OF THE PRESENT DAY "TRANSPORT" TYPE SHOWING THE NAMES OF THE
DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE MACHINE

The greatest war of all history came to a close in 1919, but there is no certainty that further wars will not arise. Without doubt the general spread of education will assist in preventing great wars. As yet, however, education cannot be wholly for peace, and, therefore, in spite of the lapse of time, the great saying of Milton, who wrote in the strenuous days of the Civil Wars in England, is as powerful and as full of wisdom to-day as in the seventeenth century. Here are Milton's words—words which are well worthy of remembrance by all citizens:—

I call a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war.—"Tractate on Education."

CHAPTER XI

THE ROYAL AIR FORCE

"In the lexicon of youth," wrote Lord Lytton, "there is no such word as—fail." These words we feel to be appropriate to the thousands of young officers and men whose deeds, during the Great War, thrilled not only the soldiers who witnessed them, but the general public at home, who could only read the descriptions of these deeds, and marvel at the wonders that were performed.

The history of the Royal Air Force is a history of rapid development. It is our most youthful fighting service, scarcely out of its boyhood, yet passing quickly to manhood. What its future will be time alone can tell, but this at least is assured, that, in estimating the means at the disposal of the country for warfare, the Royal Air Force can command not less attention than has been directed in the past to the navy and the army.

1. THE AIR MINISTRY.

When war broke out in 1914 the nations were to some degree prepared in respect of air-craft, but the enormous possibilities which lay in having command of the air had not been fully realized. In 1914 the country's air-craft services were divided between the navy and the army; in the navy the name of the "air" branch was the Royal Naval Air Service, and in the army, the Royal Flying Corps.

As the war went on, however, it was found that the air services had so greatly increased in importance that the business of procuring the materials for the framework and engines was growing with such rapidity that it was necessary to join together the two services and to set up a new Ministry, which would relieve both the Admiralty and the War Office. In 1917 this was done, and to-day the Air Ministry is an accomplished fact. The former names of the two forces were dropped, and the whole of our air services now go by the name of the Royal Air Force.

A thorough organisation was speedily established, so that to-day we have a Minister for the Royal Air Force, whose duties are similar to those of the First Lord of the Admiralty and the Secretary of State for War. An Air Council has been set up, which acts in the same way as the Board of Admiralty and the Army Council.

2. THE WORK OF THE ROYAL AIR FORCE

In an earlier chapter we said that seaplanes had become the "eyes of the fleet", and in the same way we might say that the aeroplanes are the "eyes of the army". In earlier wars one of the supreme duties of the cavalry was what is known in military language as "reconnaissance". This term simply means a highly developed form of scouting for the purpose of obtaining exact information as to the doings

of the enemy. The development of modern warfare, however, rendered cavalry for this purpose useless. Trench warfare, together with the vast mass of artillery, made scouting on horseback practically impossible.

The opposing armies were quick to see that the substitute for cavalry was the aeroplane, and thus one of the definite duties of the Royal Air Force was that of scouting. As matters developed, machines specially built for speed were constructed, and photography was brought to the aid of these scouts, so that from the air they were enabled to obtain photographs of wonderful accuracy, showing those features of the battlefields which were of the highest importance to every branch of the army.

Before, however, the scouts could carry out their work it was necessary that they should have command of the air, and thus another side of aeroplane work was developed in the construction of machines, specially equipped with machine-guns, for fighting purposes. Methods of approaching and closing with the enemy were carefully worked out. The experience of war taught that for machines to go out singly was of little use, and accordingly these fighting machines proceeded on their work in numbers which were called squadrons.

Actual fighting and scouting does not finish the tale of their work. Almost from the beginning of the Great War the aeroplane did work of the highest value in directing the fire of artillery, and in range-finding for this branch of the service. Again, at the outset of the war the power of the aeroplane to inflict tremendous destruction on the enemy by means of bombs dropped from the air was not fully realized. As the years of war went on, however, this side of the work in the Royal Air Force received more and more attention, so that in the later stages the specially built bombing machines were able to carry out their work with great

precision. The land forces were unceasingly hampered and harassed by the destruction of ammunition-dumps, railways, bridges, and fortifications, while the courage and skill of airmen became so great that they did not hesitate to swoop almost to the ground to pour into the troops a hail of machine-gun bullets.

No one can estimate to what lengths air-fighting may develop, and although we hope and pray that the skill and ingenuity which were displayed in the invention of aeroplanes for war will now be turned to the development of the aeroplane for the purposes of peace, we cannot neglect these machines in the calculations which must be made for the adequate provision of the three services.

The intelligent citizen, profiting by the knowledge he has gained of the means of warfare employed in the Great War, will not fail to note with interest the growth of man's mastery over the air. He will watch with care the estimates made by Parliament for the upkeep of our youngest fighting service; he will study the situation in foreign countries to find what nations are developing their air services for possible future wars; he will demand that this country does not lag behind, so that, if the necessity should ever arise, he will know that the Royal Air Force can go forth on its mission voyaging through "the azure dome of air" with assured supremacy.

CHAPTER XII

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EMPIRE

In the nineteenth century there were many people who believed that, in the course of time, the great colonies of the Empire would gradually become completely independent, and would cease to adhere in any way to the Mother Country.

It needed a great awakening like the World War to show that this was far from true. Everyone in this country knows of the response made by the Australians, Canadians, New Zealanders, South Africans, Newfoundlanders, and Indians to the greatest call ever made upon the Empire. There is a great sentiment, a great affection, which binds together all parts of the British Empire, and this is all the more wonderful, for, as we shall see, the Government at home has very little to do with our larger colonies, with the exception of India.

I. THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

If you look at the side of a penny on which the head of the King is embossed, you will see, round the edge of the coin, a series of abbreviations which give some of the titles belonging to the Sovereign. The lettering runs as follows:—Georgius V Dei Gra: Britt: Omn: Rex: Fid: Def: Ind: Imp. These are parts of Latin words which mean, “George V, by the Grace of God, King of all the Britons, Defender of the Faith, *Emperor of India*. It is to the last of these titles that we wish to draw special attention.

In the early days of British rule in India affairs were managed by a great trading company, the East India Company. This company was very popular, and in the course of time it secured great wealth, and gradually it obtained the right to keep an army to protect it from the attacks of native princes. During the eighteenth century the representatives of the Crown in India did a certain amount of work in holding courts in which British settlers could present their cases; but the East India Company still held the largest share of power.

It was not until 1877 that the lands and powers held by this company were transferred to the Crown, and India became the Indian Empire, with Queen Victoria as Empress. A Secretary of State was appointed, and became

one of the Ministers of the Cabinet. So vast an Empire is India that the problems which arise in connection with it are of the very greatest difficulty. To help the Secretary, the Council of India was set up, and its members were to a great extent men who had spent at least ten years in India, and who had recently returned to the Mother Country.

But while the Secretary of State for India was able, with the aid of his Council, to decide many important questions on the government of India, he could not be expected to rule the Indian Empire from an office in London. A supreme representative of the Crown was therefore sent to India, and under him were many officials, whose work was to govern the various provinces into which India is split. This method of government still holds good. The chief representative of the Crown is the Viceroy of India, whose seat was at Calcutta, but has now been changed to the capital of the ancient Mogul Empire at Delhi.

Directly under him come the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors of the various provinces, and in each of the provinces the greatest amount of the work is done by the members of the Indian Civil Service, who are men chosen after a very difficult open competitive examination, involving not only knowledge of books, but ability to administer affairs with fairness and impartiality.

To help the Viceroy in his work, a small Executive Council is set up, consisting mainly of officials with a thorough knowledge of India, her climate, religions, and peoples. On it there is one legal member, and usually a military member.

There is, further, a Legislative Council, the business of which is to frame laws for British India.

Great changes have occurred in India since the old days of the East India Company. Schools, colleges, and universities play a great part in the education of native Indians, hundreds of whom come to British universities to complete

their education. We cannot tell what the future of India will be. By slow degrees the Indians are being admitted to the Councils and governing bodies of India. Indian doctors and engineers, trained in this country, have gone back to their native land, and have taken their place side by side with British people. Natives are admitted to the Civil Service, and in the course of time it is probable that India will become self-governing, in the same way as those colonies which we are about to discuss.

2. SELF-GOVERNING COLONIES

The Indian Empire is a great trust laid upon the British people, and, since the year 1877, British statesmen, soldiers, and civil servants have gone about their work in India, well knowing that the honesty and fairness of their deeds would have a marked effect on the native peoples, and would maintain the reputation of Britain in her dealings with the numerous castes and tribes of the Indian Empire. This Empire is not a "colony" in the strict sense of the word. It is a British "possession", in which British people rule the country not only for the general advancement of Great Britain in trade and commerce, but for the welfare of the native peoples.

On the other hand, the five "self-governing" dominions of the British Empire—the Dominion of Canada, the Federal Commonwealth of Australia, the Union of South Africa, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Colony of Newfoundland—are "colonies" in the proper sense of the term. Colony comes from the Latin word *colonia*, a settlement. The five dominions named above were started as settlements of British people who emigrated from the home country, and set up, amid difficulties and dangers, a colony, which, as time went on, was recognized as part of the Empire.

When these colonies had advanced in numbers of their

population, in actual territory, in wealth and influence, they were granted "self-government" by the home Parliament.

What exactly is meant by this term "self-government"? Briefly, it implies three things:—

1. A self-governing colony is allowed to govern itself, but not other colonies. The laws which it makes are for itself alone.
2. A self-governing colony cannot make laws which would be in any way against the best interests of the Mother Country. The usual phrase which describes this is: "A colony can make no law *repugnant* to the laws of Great Britain". "Repugnant" comes from a Latin word meaning to "fight against", and the significance of the phrase will be readily understood to imply that a colony cannot make a law which would "fight against" the laws of the Mother Country.
3. The "constitution" of a colony is fixed by the British Parliament; that is to say, the particular forms of the Parliaments of the colonies are settled, in the first instance, by the home Government.

The colonies have now grown to such a degree in wealth, influence, and importance, that in practice the British Parliament observes certain "unwritten" laws with regard to them. The Government at home would, in modern times, never make any attempt to impose taxation upon the colonies. Again, once the constitution of the colony is fixed and has been in working order for a long time, the British Parliament would not attempt to alter that constitution, unless the colonists themselves first desired it. But, on the other hand, should some question arise in a colony affecting not only the colony but other parts of the Empire, the British Parliament would carry through the necessary law-making to meet the case.

3. GOVERNORS-GENERAL

Just as India possesses a supreme representative of the Crown in the person of the Viceroy, so at the head of each colony is a Governor-General, who is an official directly appointed by the Crown. Since the colonies are "self-governing", it will be seen that his position is not an easy one. He has very little to do with the actual government of the colony, but is chosen for those qualities of tact and understanding which will make him a fitting representative of the King. The Governor-General acts towards the Parliaments of the colonies very much in the same way as does the King towards the British Parliament.

Governors-General to-day are symbols of the unity of the Empire. They exercise no power over the laws made by the colonial Parliament, but are called upon in many ways to preserve, in a real and practical manner, the sentiments of blood and birth and race which bind the various parts of the Empire with strong chains of affection.

Still another means is used of maintaining the close contact between Mother Country and colony. Every colony sends to London an Agent-General or High Commissioner, who does his official work in handsome buildings erected on a prominent site. The Agents-General and High Commissioners have the most important duties to perform. Through them the home Government is enabled to know the strength and popularity or unpopularity of new questions and affairs which are constantly arising in the colonies. Further, these officials form a link between the traders and merchants of Britain and the colonies which they represent, while they are also at the service of colonists who have come back to the Mother Country, or of emigrants who wish to go to the colonies, and who require many particulars as to their prospects in the new country to which they intend

to go. The work of the Agents-General and High Commissioners needs distinct personality, for in keeping strong and fresh the bonds which knit the Empire together they are of the highest value. Like the Governors-General, they are chosen with the greatest care from men of wide understanding and knowledge, and it is seldom that these high officials fail to carry out their work with great success for their colony, and, indirectly, for the whole Empire.

4. CROWN COLONIES

It will be readily understood that all the British colonies are not at the same stage of development, and therefore cannot all be granted self-government. Those portions of the Empire which are under the control of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who exercises a direct influence on all their affairs, are, for the most part, known as Crown Colonies. The representatives of the Colonial Secretary in colonies such as Jamaica, British Guiana, Malta, Mauritius, and Ceylon have far greater powers than is the case with the Governors-General of Australia and the remaining self-governing dominions. The Governors of Crown Colonies are, in a very real sense, rulers who carry out the instructions of the Colonial Office, and apply the laws made for the colony with fairness and equality to all the inhabitants, whether British, foreign, or native.

One important matter should here be noted, for it has much to do with the whole question of the way in which Britain manages her great Empire. It has never been the aim of British statesmen to rule any colony autocratically. Autocracy implies that the governing nation takes little heed of the mass of the people which it rules. The autocrat acts in a high-handed manner, and, in nearly every instance, makes himself thoroughly hated. Had Great Britain acted in this way, it is safe to say that her dominions would long

ere this have passed from her. But her statesmen and administrators have gone on the principle that in ruling a colony the best interests of the people should always be consulted. Hence, in practically every British colony there are Councils which are composed of the inhabitants, and these Councils co-operate with the Governor, and through him with the Colonial Secretary in London. For example, it is realized that persons on the spot know far better than those in the Colonial Office what forms of taxation are likely to meet with the favour of the people, and accordingly, in the Crown Colonies, the local Councils have the biggest share in deciding on the methods of raising funds for the upkeep of the colony, and where insufficient money can be obtained, the British Government steps in and lends generous help. The aim of the home Government is always to foster a sense of responsibility in the inhabitants, thus making them, in the proper sense, citizens. In some cases, such as Ashanti and Ascension, the rule of the Colonial Office is very nearly autocratic, the reason for this being that, for the time being, it is in the interest of the inhabitants to rule in this manner; but with the passage of time these colonies will advance step by step along the road towards self-government.

5. BRITISH PROTECTORATES

The influence of Great Britain in various parts of the world takes many forms. Thus, in addition to the Indian Empire, the "self-governing" and Crown Colonies, we exercise an influence on large areas which are called for convenience British Protectorates. While it is a little difficult to set down precisely what the word Protectorate covers, it may be explained in the following way.

In parts of Africa into which our traders and merchants have gone, numerous tribes exist, each with its own chief.

Many of these tribes are backward in civilization, and, to ensure that trade will be carried on peacefully and justly by merchants and natives alike, the British Government sends out Residents, who give advice on questions of law and order, and maintain peace in the country. The amount of actual ruling done by the British Resident varies very greatly. In British East Africa and Uganda, for example, the British Resident, whose title is Commissioner in the case of British East Africa, and Consul-General in that of Uganda, holds a very powerful position, and has a great deal to do with the administration and laws of the country. In fact, these protectorates are very nearly the same as Crown Colonies. In Somaliland, on the other hand, the Resident takes very little part in the actual government, and confines his work to the general watch and guard of Britain's interests.

Lastly, the British Government has a certain degree of power over parts of the world which are called "spheres of influence". The "sphere of influence" is a part of the world in which a nation takes no direct action in government, but in which no other nation can make any attempt to colonize or procure influence in any way. The general tendency in the past has been for such spheres of influence gradually to become protectorates, since the natives have found that it is to their advantage to obtain from the British officials direct help in maintaining law and order. From being protectorates it is a fairly short step to a higher stage, when they become colonies, or actual possessions of the Empire.

6. THE BRITON AS COLONIZER

If it be asked how it comes that Britain possesses so much larger a colonial Empire than any other nation, the answer is to be found in that spirit of the race which has come to us

as a heritage from very early times. Our early ancestors—the Angles, Jutes, Saxons, and Danes—were rovers, men unafraid of the sea, adventurous and full of courage. From them sprang the great colonizers of the time of Elizabeth—Raleigh, Drake, Frobisher, and Hawkins. When the Pilgrim Fathers set sail in the ship the *Mayflower* in the year 1620, it was the desire for religious freedom that set them voyaging on the perilous ocean, but they were undaunted by the “unplumbed, salt, estranging sea”. The same spirit of courage sent men like Cook, Livingstone, and Stanley to lands unknown or unexplored; and even later the same spirit is evidenced in Antarctic explorations like those of Captain Scott and Shackleton.

Our colonies were founded always as a result of individual daring and curiosity. The Government did not send expeditions with the definite intention of annexing new lands. What happened was that a set of hardy souls, having set out upon a great enterprise of discovery, found new lands, gave them names, settled in them, and finally asked for assistance from the Government to maintain some form of law and order. State interference came after individual enterprise.

The British people, then, have proved natural colonizers, and differ in every respect from a nation like Germany, whose attempts at founding colonies proved failures, because they were not, by nature and by heritage, endowed with the qualities which made our explorers the pioneers of Empire.

We cannot say that in our long history of colonial expansion we have always acted with unselfishness towards the peoples whom we ruled. India was badly and selfishly governed in the later days of the East India Company. But, taken all in all, our record is a good one. Autocracy on Britain's part soon passed into some form of co-operation with native peoples, and there does not exist at the present time a colony

or protectorate where our rule is hated, and where our Governors and Residents are resented. Religion has gone hand in hand with colonial expansion, and it has been the great privilege of this nation to teach Christianity to millions of people, turning their lives from darkness into light.

CHAPTER XIII

EDUCATION

It is a difficult matter to get away from the Great World War which broke out in 1914. Every side of the nation's life seems affected by it. Thus, when we come to discuss the subject of education, our thoughts recur once more to the greatest event in history. Why is this? The reasons are easily discovered.

When Germany, in her vanity, challenged the world in 1914, citizens in Britain commenced to find out about the various activities of the German nation since the time of the Franco-German War of 1870-1. They learnt the efforts of the enemy in manufacture and in trade; but above all they realized that it was in the universities, colleges, and schools that the average German citizen had got those absurd notions which had spread throughout the whole people, making them a prey to the belief that they were the greatest nation in Europe. The education of the German had been such that it had led him to believe the false and foolish ideals which at length have been completely shattered. Citizens of this nation realized in a way they had never done before the power of education for good and for evil.

The consequence has been that, since the signing of the peace, Britain as a nation has awakened to the fact that education is something far greater than the mere piling up of

knowledge on various subjects, but is a thing which is able to influence the whole country in politics, in trade, in the great ideals which govern masses of men. The power of education for good, for justice, for righteousness—did we ever truly recognize these things before the war? As a nation we certainly did not.

But there is another side to the matter. During the war large numbers of our great citizen army felt that their education was not nearly so good, so complete, as it should have been, and, therefore, when the Armistice was signed, thousands of men set themselves at once to learn more about those subjects in which they had received instruction while at school, but about which they had scarcely taken a thought after leaving school. These soldiers saw the great advantage of a sound education, not only because it would make them more worthy of higher wages when they got home, but also because they saw that their leisure hours would be more profitably spent, and new sources of real enjoyment would be opened up to them.

It will be difficult for boys and girls still at school to recognize these facts. But they must have often heard their older relatives and friends express the wish that their schooling had been better and more complete, and that they had had the advantages which are given to the scholar of to-day. This wish has been expressed very often since the war, for men and women know that in the fierce competition of life the most precious possession which they can have in the struggle is a sound education.

A badly educated nation is a backward nation, and just as individuals must have a good education if they are to progress, so the nation at large must be keen and alert in all educational affairs, for otherwise it will certainly fall behind in the race.

Again, in a poorly educated nation, real citizenship does

not exist. Power falls into the hands of people who use it for their own ends, not for the public gain; abuses spring up, and that freedom of mind and conscience which it is the right of every citizen to possess becomes a thing unknown.

I. THE MEANING OF EDUCATION

Why should I bother my head with these sums? What is the use of learning "yards" of poetry? What do I want with all those facts about foreign countries?—I'm not going abroad. How very often, when at school, we ask ourselves such questions, and, of course, in our impatience, give no definite answer. We chafe and fret often, and wish for the days when we are to be freed from the "tyranny of the school-book". There is an old proverb which says that a man cannot see the wood for the trees. When we are in the thick of a piece of work, we cannot see of what use it is going to be. We can't see the wood for the trees. It is only when we are finished, and look back on the work, that we can see its value in the proper light, and, if it be a good bit of work, take an honest pride in it. So it is with school life.

A sound education does not mean that a boy or girl goes forth from his school career with his mind stuffed with facts and theories. The word means a "drawing-out"; it implies a development not only of the brain, but of the whole body. Facts are of no use in themselves. It is the play of the mind upon the facts that is the important thing. Let us take an example.

A lad finishes his school life, goes through his apprenticeship, and suddenly finds that he has attained to full citizenship, that he is called upon to record his vote at a Parliamentary Election. The election turns upon some great question over which there is great dispute. If his teaching at school has been bad, if his mind is undeveloped, he will be



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THE OFFICES OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION, LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD, F.T.C.,
WHITEHALL, LONDON

completely at a loss to know in which way to vote. He becomes like clay in the hands of some clever political agent. But if his mind has been well educated, well developed, he will face the facts, study them independently, and will make his own decision. Doubtless he will be aided by the opinions of others, but he has "a mind of his own", as the saying goes, and his final decision is of his own making. He has the great satisfaction of playing his part as a citizen with intelligence and independence.

It comes to everyone to make decisions not only as citizens, but as individuals. These decisions often involve a complete change in our lives, and cannot be made without severe and anxious thought. Think of the importance, then, of having a well-balanced, sane mind with which to work! Doubt and hesitation there will be, but once the decision is made, it is made with certainty and assurance. There will be no going back. Such a quality is one of the things that goes far towards success in life.

Education does not mean only the successful passing of examinations. No one wishes to underrate the importance of success in examinations, for the certificates which are obtained as a result of them are frequently the passports to higher education, to entrance into business life and work of many kinds. Yet the boy or girl whose whole school life is altogether given over to this end very often misses what is the greatest feature of school life, namely, the formation of character and personality. An all-round education must bring out personality if it is to be worthy of the name. When an employer engages a lad, he asks not only what standard of education the lad has attained, but *what sort of a lad is he?* The older one grows the more one sees the force of this. A man may have been very successful in examinations, and yet be of comparatively little use in the ordinary activities of daily business. Therefore, when at school, every one should

take all the chances that present themselves for "rubbing shoulders" with his fellows. To play for the school or the class at football and cricket, to take an active part in all school clubs and societies, to work for the good of the school, to take a living interest in all the things which go to make the good reputation of the school, to mix freely with class-mates—all these may seem not to have much effect on personality at the moment, but in reality they are having a constant effect, and lay the foundations of character, which in manhood is to be your great test. Knowledge and foresight, courage and independence, thoughtfulness and courtesy, honesty and self-reliance, all these qualities go to make the sum of what we know as "character", and in them the meaning of education lies.

2. EDUCATION, NEW AND OLD IN ENGLAND

The changes which have been brought about in education during the past fifty years would strike the English citizen of the middle of the nineteenth century as amazing. By many people to-day 1870 is looked upon as the most important year of the whole of last century, for in that year a great revolution took place in the means of education. The Education Act of 1870 is a great landmark in the history of England's progress.

In the Middle Ages learning was fostered by the Church, and many boys were enabled to proceed direct from the schools held in the monasteries to the universities. Wealthy men like William of Wykeham, who founded Winchester College and New College at Oxford, attempted to provide education of a nature wider than that which could be obtained at the monasteries or the universities, which were the homes of classical studies; but gradually schools like Winchester were diverted from their original purpose, and became closed to the large mass of poor scholars. The same

thing occurred to the old "grammar schools", so that, even by the time of George I, only about one-third of the children in the country got any education at all. The Church again took up the question of the education of poor children who could not afford the fees which were necessary, and in Church schools the three Rs—reading, writing, and arithmetic—were taught. But the State was long in coming to the aid of the great mass of the population.

Although sums of money had been granted by Parliament earlier in the century for the upkeep of schools, it was not until 1870 that an Act was passed making education compulsory for every child of a certain age.

The Act provided for the setting up of School Boards, the members of which were representatives of the ratepayers in the area administered by the School Board, and the schools were maintained by money drawn from the rates and by certain grants of money paid by the Government.

There are many ways of finding out the state of education before 1870. Charles Dickens gives a vivid picture of the miserable schools and bad methods of education to which scholars were subjected prior to this date. Charles Dickens was a great reformer as well as a novelist of the highest rank, and he used the pages of his novels to present to the people of Britain the abuses which went on in the name of education. Who will ever forget the portrait of the school-master Squeers in *Nicholas Nickleby*, or Salem House, the school to which David Copperfield was sent, where the schoolroom was nothing but a "great shivering machine"? In *David Copperfield* Dickens narrates much that entered into his own life, and Copperfield's misery at school was Dickens's own misery. "Dog's-eared lesson books, cracked slates, tear-blotted copy-books, canings, rulerings . . . and a dirty atmosphere of ink surrounding all"—that was Dickens's remembrance of his school-days.

How different matters are now! Try to imagine what it must have been like to spend one's childhood like Jo, one of the finest of Dickens's many wonderful characters.

"It must be a strange state to be like Jo!" says Dickens. "To shuffle through the streets, unfamiliar with the shapes, and in utter darkness as to the meaning of those mysterious symbols so abundant over the shops and at the corners of streets, and in the doors and in the windows! To see people read and to see people write; and to see the postman deliver letters, and not have the least idea of all that language—to be to every scrap of it stone blind and dumb!"

The step made in 1870 was, therefore, a great advance on anything that had before been done for the great mass of children. The Act did not do away with what were called "voluntary" schools, but wherever it was found that every child was not receiving an elementary education, "provided" or Board Schools were set up.

All great steps in the ladder of progress have some defects. In the Act of 1870 the great difficulty that arose was concerned with the levying of the school rate, for the smaller School Boards did not levy their own rates, but were compelled to apply to another rating authority for money to carry out their work, and this was the cause of much trouble.

3. THE PRESENT SYSTEM IN ENGLAND

For thirty years the School Board system was maintained, until it was found that the financial and other sides of their business was so difficult that a remedy would have to be found.

In the year 1902 Parliament once more tackled the problem, and brought into being the system of Education Committees, which has proved itself to be far superior to the School Board method of conducting the nation's education.

In 1870 the great trouble which was raised over "voluntary" schools, that is, schools supported by private funds, made the unity of education throughout England quite impossible. The School Boards had nothing to do with these schools, which got grants of money direct from the Board of Education, and not through the School Board. The "voluntary" or "non-provided" schools, many of which had great traditions handed down from the old days of struggle to ensure some means of education, were unwilling that their distinct place in education should be lost. The framers of the Act of 1902 had accordingly a difficult task to face. What changes did they make?

In the first place the School Boards were abolished, and the whole work of elementary education was transferred to the County, Borough, and Urban District Councils. These Councils, the work of which in other matters has already been described, were charged with the levying of the rate.

In the second place the Councils were required to appoint an Education Committee or Committees. The majority of the members of the Education Committee were members of the Council, but on every Committee certain persons were placed who had educational interests and were of influence in affairs of school life and the welfare of children.

In the third place the old system of having "Managers" for each school was maintained. Under the School Board, Managers had been appointed from among the members to take particular charge of the affairs of each school, and this method was transferred to the new Act in such a way that the "voluntary" or "non-provided" schools were supervised by a body of Managers, one-third of whom were appointed by the Councils, and two-thirds (known as Foundation Managers) by the persons immediately interested in the "voluntary" schools. Questions relating to religious teach-

ing in the schools were thus solved. and other affairs of management were put upon a basis that satisfied the majority of citizens.

4. HIGHER EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

The Members of Parliament who worked hard to get the Act of 1902 placed upon the Statute Book were not content to stop short with the provision of "elementary" education. They very wisely saw that promising pupils should get every encouragement to proceed with their education beyond the elementary stages, and secured that the Education Committees would foster in every possible way the teaching of higher subjects for the professions, for commerce, engineering, chemistry, and for all occupations the training for which is best described as technical. No absolutely definite standards of higher education were laid down at first, but, as time has gone on, the Education Committees have year by year increased the scope of higher-grade, secondary, and technical schools, so that to-day these schools are things of which the nation has reason to be proud.

5. SCOTTISH EDUCATION

Since the days of the Reformation education has played an important part in the history of this country. The great reformer, John Knox, made the parish the educational area, and for hundreds of years Scotsmen received their education from the parish schoolmasters. The conditions under which these schoolmasters worked were far from ideal. The schools were poorly equipped, and in many cases the schoolmaster had to conduct the entire school himself. Such a system did not make for the wide diffusion of knowledge, and yet, in spite of its drawbacks, the parish school system produced scholars whose work in various walks of life has been the pride of all Scotsmen.

In 1872, two years after the passing of the English Education Act, a great change was made in the administration of Scottish education by the setting up of the School Board in each parish and large town. Where there were several parishes within a burgh, the parishes were united into one area, for which there was one School Board.

Citizens who were elected to sit on these Boards held office for three years. At the end of that time they retired, and could seek re-election if they so desired. The method of voting for candidates at School Board elections was as follows: The elector was allowed as many votes as there were members on the Board. If the Board consisted of nine members, each elector had nine votes at his disposal, and, if he thought fit, could give all nine votes to one candidate, or could distribute them among the candidates, giving, let us say, four votes to one candidate, three to another, and two to a third candidate.

Under the School Board system, Scottish education developed rapidly, and encountered few of the difficulties which were experienced in England as far as administration is concerned. In addition to the elementary schools, where a sound general education was obtained up to the age of fourteen years, intermediate and secondary schools were gradually established, in which education was continued up to the age of eighteen. These various grades of schools have been in full working order for many years, and the educational ladder, by which a scholar can mount from the elementary school to the University or Technical College, is now completely built.

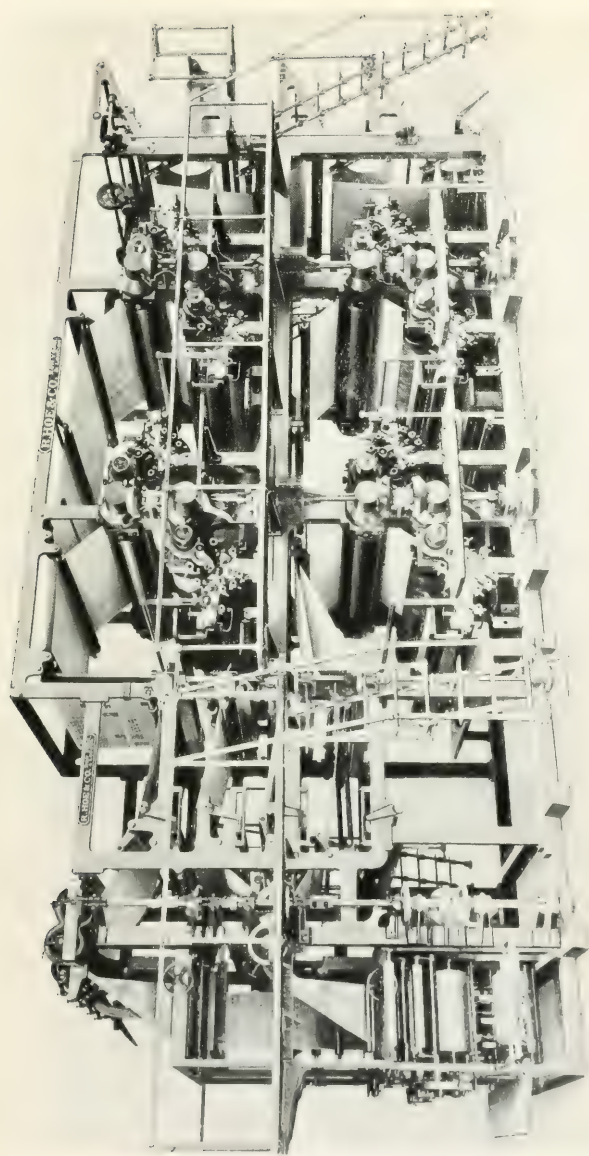
Successful as the School Boards were, it was felt, after the close of the war, that the time was ripe for certain changes in the methods of administering education. While the larger School Boards did their work splendidly, some of the smaller Parish Boards were felt to be inadequate to the growing

demands placed upon them. A proposal was made to transfer the administration of education to the County Councils, but this met with so great opposition that the idea was dropped. By an Education Act, which came into operation in 1919, there were elected throughout Scotland Local Education Authorities, whose work is practically the same as the School Boards, which were abolished at the time of the new Act. The Local Education Authorities control much larger areas than was the case with the School Boards, except in the large towns, where the area, in some instances, remains practically the same.

The elections to the Local Education Authorities are carried out on the principle of Proportional Representation, which is described in Chapter VI.

6. CONTINUATION SCHOOLS

For a good many years the Education Authorities in Great Britain, seeing the necessity that boys and girls should not stop short in their education when they finally left the day-school, were active in furnishing further instruction by means of continuation schools held in the evenings, and it has been recognized for a long time past that the next step in the educational progress of the country would be in the direction of compulsory continuation schools. We have noted the effect of the war on education. During hostilities the time was not lost, and preparations were set going to introduce into Parliament Education Acts which would not only raise the age for leaving school, but would make attendance at a continuation school compulsory. This Act has now been passed into law, and, although its provisions do not immediately come into effect, before many years have passed, young men and women will not complete their education until the age of eighteen. From fourteen to eighteen they will be part-time scholars, and their education will be arranged



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in such a way that the pupil will obtain a sound general knowledge of those subjects which will fit him to become a good citizen. The war has brought prominently before everyone the need for physical training, and this is intended to form an important part of the work. Finally, the pupils of the continuation schools will receive "vocational" training, that is, definite instruction in the profession or craft at which they are working as apprentices.

When all these schemes are considered, the enormous advance on education in the days before 1870 will be easily realized. Practically all statesmen and men of foresight in professional life and in commerce are agreed upon the wisdom of the new proposals. The new schemes will not be carried through without much expenditure of money; but every ratepayer and taxpayer must be made to see, if he has not already done so, that in the spread of education lies the salvation of the nation. Citizens, as a whole, are not yet awake to the grave necessity for higher education, and it will still be many years before they can be made to set a proper value upon the continued education of young people. Already other nations are ahead of us, and have proved to themselves that the time and money which they have given to higher education has not been wasted. Britain cannot afford to remain backward in this respect. In the reconstruction that follows after war it is education that counts for most, not only in commerce and industry, but in politics and in government, whether local or imperial.

7. THE UNIVERSITIES

On the educational ladder of this country the universities represent the topmost rung. In England, for many centuries, the only universities were Oxford and Cambridge, which received no assistance in money from the State, but were maintained by large donations, and endowments left on the

deaths of famous and wealthy men. These universities are composed of a number of separate colleges, and students are in residence there, being compelled to reside within the university area, as a condition of obtaining a degree. The expense of living at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge is heavy, and, although scholarships are numerous, it is hardly possible to become a student there without having considerable private means.

During the last century the spread of education demanded that universities should be established in the great English towns, where secondary and technical education had made great progress. Partly by the generosity of private citizens, and partly by the State, universities were founded at Durham (of which the Armstrong College, Newcastle, now forms part), Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and Bristol. In other cities, such as Nottingham, Reading, and Southampton, university colleges were instituted. These colleges do not grant degrees of their own at present, but in the near future it is practically certain that they will be raised to the full status of universities, and will receive a Royal Charter giving them the power to award their own degrees to their students. It is now quite possible for the sons and daughters of citizens of moderate means to gain scholarships and bursaries which will provide the larger part of the cost of maintenance at the modern universities.

London University is curiously unlike any other university. It has twenty-five colleges, situated in different parts of the Metropolis, and has many other institutions linked to it. Its various colleges contain students of every nationality, and its activities are greater and more diverse than those of any other university. The London County Council provides it with large annual grants for technical education.

In Scotland the four universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh have been in existence for hun-

dreds of years. All were founded in the fifteenth century with the exception of Edinburgh, which was founded in the sixteenth century. They are modelled, in their government, on the old Italian universities of the Middle Ages. University education in Scotland has always been open to the sons of people who are far from rich. A great proportion of the students have their fees paid from the interest of a large sum of money given to the Scottish universities by the late Mr. Andrew Carnegie; while many of the best students make sufficient money, by bursaries, scholarships, and work in the university vacations, to maintain them without help from their parents.

8. CITIZENSHIP AND EDUCATION

These two words go hand in hand. If a citizen is badly educated, he takes no interest in the affairs of the community, or, if he does so, his ignorance is a continual hindrance to his usefulness.

Every boy and girl is a citizen from his earliest years as far as his school is concerned. It is the great privilege of the children of to-day to have the right to a sound education, and that education may be continued up to the university stage. It is the desire of the educational authorities of Britain that to the ambitious lad or girl no avenue is closed. Contrasted with the schools of fifty years ago, the modern school is a bright and airy building, where the needs of the body receive attention no less than the needs of the mind. The scholar of to-day is a privileged person, over whose welfare much care and thoughtfulness are exercised.

Once more, then, we turn to the responsibility which goes with every privilege. The true school-citizen lives in his little world, where he cannot be altogether an individual person. The school is his community. The school buildings, the appliances for work, the playground, are, so to

speaking, the public institutions for the proper maintenance of which he is responsible. In his relations with his classmates he cannot act with selfishness, for if he did, he would be but a poor citizen of his school. It is true that every scholar works for himself, but, in doing his bit well, he is really working not for himself alone but for the whole school. The doings of each individual scholar, when taken together, make or mar the reputation of the institution. Each for all, and all for each. Where there is no pride of country, patriotism is at a low ebb. Where there is no pride in a city, the city is backward. Where there is no pride in a school, no desire on the part of the scholars for the good name of the place in which they are being taught, no feeling of responsibility, the citizenship of the school does not exist. But when these feelings do exist in a school, in the mind and heart of every boy and girl, it is certain that the school will be a flourishing institution, the name and fame of which every scholar will respect and love long after he has ceased to be a scholar, and is at work in the great world that lies beyond its walls.

CHAPTER XIV

THE NEWSPAPER

There is a noise of shouting in the streets. The newsboys are calling out the contents of the newsbill which they carry in front of them as they go.

Something of great importance has occurred—a great victory, a defeat of the governing party in the House of Commons, the death of a famous man.

From the streets and houses the citizens pour towards the newsboys, buying with intense eagerness the sheets which

will give them the news. The newsboys reap a heavy harvest of coppers.

How very dependent we have become on the newspaper in modern times! There is scarcely a single house in all Britain into which a daily newspaper does not enter. Or take the trains, buses, tubes which bear the workers of every class to their daily toil: there the newspaper is everywhere in evidence. Each person reads his favourite paper to find from it the latest details of the events in which he is interested.

The newspaper has grown in power and importance with the development of modern inventions. The steam-engine, the telegraph and telephone, wireless telegraphy, the various means of quick transit, have all of them helped not only to increase the size and number of newspapers, magazines, and periodicals, but to spread them broadcast over the land.

So dependent, indeed, have we become on newspapers, that there are many people who to-day say that the power of the newspaper is far greater than that of our leading statesmen. There is much truth in this. It is to the great influence of the newspaper upon the minds of the mass of British citizens that we wish to direct attention.

1. THE ADVANTAGES OF NEWSPAPERS

No citizen can afford to neglect the newspapers. To them he goes for the information he needs to enable him to gain knowledge of current affairs, and to make up his mind on the great questions regarding the nation which are continually coming up in Parliament or in the local Councils. He has practically no other means of doing this.

The newspaper, then, is of great advantage to the whole public. It is a great educative force. The news it gives comes from every quarter of the globe; and we are readily taught by the newspapers that we are citizens not of our country alone, but of the whole world.

Again, the best newspapers are written in good English. They present their news and opinions in a sound, easily understood style, which appeals to practically every reader. The standard in this respect has risen. Even in such newspapers as *The Times*, as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, the tone and language of the principal items were far from dignified, and prominent people were freely libelled, and had their characters and actions misrepresented in an outrageous fashion. We do not say that the newspaper of to-day is entirely free from this, but it is to be noted that the general level of the style and language of a good newspaper has risen very much within the last fifty years.

In every good newspaper of to-day articles are printed which are the work of men who, to great knowledge of their subject, add a sincerity and strength of purpose which make for the purity of public life. In some cases these articles are constructive, that is, they point the way to new and fresh methods in Parliament, in the public services, in trade, commerce, and religion. In other cases they are critical. They perform the much-needed work of maintaining a watchful eye upon the conduct of all public affairs. Criticism is good for public bodies as well as for individuals. Where keenness and alertness is shown in picking out the weakness and uselessness of proposals intended for the benefit of the citizen, one may be assured that a high standard of thought and intelligence will be kept in dealing with matters which affect the mass of the people.

2. THE ABUSE OF NEWSPAPERS

The general name which covers all newspapers is the "Press". The power of the press! We see that phrase very often. It is used generally by people who feel that the influence of the newspaper is not altogether for good. The

British citizen is frequently described as "newspaper-ridden". What does this mean?

It means, in the first place, that the unthinking and uneducated reader devours every word in a newspaper as if it were the absolute truth. The capacity for belief in the newspaper is, on the part of many readers, astounding. They have no sense of discrimination, no idea of what is important and vital, and what is useless and, indeed, mere rubbish. Thus, many journalists and proprietors of newspapers continually misuse the great power placed in their hands. They know that the public is easily led, easily deceived, and to gain their ends they stoop to the meanest practices. Important parts are left out of speeches, so that the whole meaning of the speech is changed and distorted. Unfair attacks are made on public men, who have no means of replying with equal force to the accusations made against them in a newspaper which has a vast circulation. Further, there is scarcely a single prominent newspaper which does not take a side in politics. There is nothing wrong or unworthy in this, so long as the proprietors and editor are men of principle, holding strong beliefs, and carrying them bravely and with conviction. One honours such men, for their labours are ever in the public good. But the other type exists: proprietors and editors given over wholly to the conflict of parties. They have no strong convictions, but are mere "time-servers", hoping for private gain from the material which they present in their newspapers. These are the men who wilfully deceive, and whose honour is at low ebb.

In the second place comes on another important matter. It is an acknowledged fact that in the minds and hearts of large numbers of citizens there exists a pleasure in knowing all the details of those ugly affairs in the life of a nation which continually come to the surface. Crimes of every description, law-cases involving dishonour and disaster to the home, the

infamous life led by members of various sections of the society of the nation—all these affairs are discussed and read in a manner that adds little to our dignity or greatness. The poorer sort of newspaper lives upon this garbage, this scum of human nature, and thousands of readers wallow in the revolting details. There are many modern newspapers which are a blot upon our civilization, and their readers are a disgrace to the name of citizen.

3. THE CITIZEN AND THE NEWSPAPER

What part should the newspaper play in the citizen's life? We have seen that he cannot neglect it.

Education comes to our help in making a reply. The intelligent citizen, well-grounded in history and in general information, will, by the aid of his own good sense, readily choose from the mass of newspapers those which are worthy of his serious attention. He will very naturally select some newspaper of recognized worth and honesty, the general policy of which suits his own mind and way of thinking; but, in order that his intelligence may be kept well-balanced, he will also read those eminent newspapers which hold beliefs that are not precisely the same as his own. By this means his judgment will gain in soundness. As his knowledge of newspapers advances, he will be able to realize what news is of first importance, and what news is merely gossip, and, therefore, worth less attention.

He will, however, make a great mistake if he confines all his reading to the newspaper. In the turmoil of the daily round it is not easy to find leisure for much reading. Yet no citizen who values his rights and responsibilities will fail to keep himself abreast of the great movements in the thoughts and ideals of his country, by reading the works of authors who have studied long and deeply the intricate problems—social, political, and commercial—which rise with



"NO NEWS!"

From the painting by T. S. Good, in the Tate Gallery, London

the progress of time and the advance of civilization. Such a citizen will gain immensely in self-respect, and for the reading of that meaner sort of newspaper which we have already described, will have neither the time nor the inclination.

CHAPTER XV

POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS

I. THE POST OFFICE

Try to imagine some of the conditions of life less than one hundred years ago. Think of some of the things in our daily lives which have become so common that we scarcely give them a thought, and make an attempt to realize what it would be like to have to do without them. It is little more than a century ago since George Stephenson ran his first locomotive, driven by steam-power, on a tramway line in the Tyne district. So accustomed have we become to the steam-engine, that with a certain surprise we learn the fact that it was as late as 1830 that this inventor's famous steam-engine, *The Rocket*, first sped on its way on the Manchester and Liverpool line at the then wonderful speed of thirty miles per hour. The development of the locomotive steam-engine is one of the marvels of modern times.

Again, had the reader lived in the first forty years of last century, he could not have communicated with his friends in the easy manner which is now possible. It was in 1839 that, by Act of Parliament, the penny postage was established in the country. The credit for bringing this great blessing prominently before citizens and Members of Parliament in Britain belongs to Rowland Hill. He was a man of imagination. He saw that the new means of transit which the rail-

road provided made the quicker carrying of letters a matter of little difficulty. He noticed, too, how poor people did not receive news of their friends by means of letters except at very rare intervals, since the sending and receiving of letters was a costly business. What a triumph it would be, he saw, if poor and rich alike could communicate with their friends and business relations at a sum that would be within the reach of everyone. The Bill to introduce the Penny Post was carried, and the Post Office commenced its work as a branch of the nation's services. It was not long before the public commenced to take advantage of the new organization, and the Post Office, owing to the amount of work which it did, was early seen to be a good means by which revenue would be secured for the national purse.

As time advanced, the advantages of the Post Office as a convenient place at which to do other business besides that of the transmission of letters were seen, and to-day the Post Office is one of the centres of the life of the people. It is a great machine, which works with amazing smoothness.

Letters and parcels still form the main part of the work of the Post Office, and nothing could exceed the speed and certainty with which these are handled. The journey of a letter or parcel from its starting place to its destination is a kind of romance. A short time after the letter is posted in, let us say, a local pillar-box it is collected, and taken to a post office, where it is sorted, and stamped with a die which shows upon the face of the postage stamp the name of the place in which the letter was posted and the date of posting. Along with many other letters, it is then conveyed to the railway station in huge postal bags, and placed in the train. At the station of the place to which it has been addressed, it is put out of the train, still in the great bag, and a postman comes to convey it to the local post office. There it is again sorted out, and is finally taken from the local post office by

the postman, and delivered at its destination. All this sounds very simple; but then the things in life which appear most simple are most often the result of great care and forethought and skilful organization.

Before the start of the Great War in 1914 the penny postage had become universal throughout practically the whole of the British Empire, so that, in the journey of a letter to the colonies or to India, one has to add a long sea-trip. The vast cost of maintaining the war, however, compelled the Government to make a change, so that, at the present time, the penny postage has been increased to twopence, while the post card, which used to be carried for a half-penny, now costs one penny to carry. It is fairly certain, nevertheless, that the Government will look upon the increased charges as temporary, and will, as soon as possible, go back to the old rates.

2. THE POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK

It is an easy matter to tell citizens that it is a duty to themselves and to their country to be thrifty and economical. But when a citizen has only a very small sum to lay away, it is not convenient often for him to go to one of the great banking institutions in the country. It was to meet this need that the Post Office Savings Bank was started.

The citizen with plenty of money sometimes talks jokingly of the "humble shilling", but it was to this "humble" coin that the Post Office Savings Bank directed its attention. The officials of the Post Office saw very wisely that thousands of people, who were not in such a position of life that they could lay past large sums of money, would be able to put past at least a shilling with regularity, and therefore they made the shilling the basis of their scheme. They wished to make the great body of the people realize that the pennies grew to shillings, and the shillings to pounds; and, accordingly, forms

were issued, marked with twelve spaces, each for a penny stamp, and when the forms were filled up with the twelve penny stamps, the form was received as a shilling deposit, on which, at the end of each period of one year from the first date of deposit, interest was paid at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This is the method which still holds, and now millions of pounds have been placed in the Post Office Savings Bank by citizens with small sums to lay past. This bank has proved a great boon to the country, and the boys or girls whose parents have commenced for them at an early age a Post Office Savings Bank Book find themselves, when grown to manhood and womanhood, with useful sums of money at their command.

The withdrawal of savings from this bank is made a very simple matter, so that no one need have any fear that there will be difficulty in getting back the savings quickly, if the need should arise.

The Post Office also acts as an Insurance Company for sums between £5 and £100, but, owing to the competition with other Insurance Companies, it would appear that this part of the work of the Post Office has never had the success it deserves.

When the scheme was passed for providing old age pensions to people of seventy years or over who were in need of assistance, the Post Office took up the work of distributing the weekly pension, thus adding another activity to its already heavy work.

The War brought with it still further duties for the Post Office. For citizens who wished to lend their savings to the Government to carry on the war to a victorious end, a scheme was started through the Post Office by which War Savings Certificates to the value of 15s. 6d. each were purchased. The scheme proved attractive, for the conditions of purchase were that, at the end of five years from the date of taking out

the Certificate, the 15s. 6d. became £1. Of all the methods of raising money to meet the terrible drain of war, none has proved more successful than this.

3. THE TELEGRAPH

Although the telegraph was taken out as a patent as early as 1837, it was not until 1870 that it was taken over by the Government and became a part of the national services.

Not only in commerce and in the world of newspapers, but in the life of every private citizen the telegraph has become a thing of great usefulness. It provides a means of communication swifter than any other method that can be devised for use by the large body of the public, and it has the great merit of being cheap. Before the war the Post Office transmitted messages (or telegrams) at the rate of sixpence for the first twelve words and one halfpenny for every subsequent word, and although the charge has now been raised to ninepence, it still provides a means of communication which is far from expensive. The telegraph has never proved so valuable a source of revenue to the nation as the other branches of the work of the Post Office, on account of the cost of general upkeep.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CONDUCT OF THE CITIZEN

I. THE VALUE OF CITIZENSHIP

A pioneer in a lonely forest, where man has never trod before, must of necessity work for himself alone, for he is, so to speak, the only citizen of his forest. But to the vast mass of mankind such a situation never comes. We live in

communities, and it is the law of nature that we should do so, for neither men nor animals prefer, by nature and habit, a solitary life. The majority of human beings are gregarious (Lat. *grex, gregis*, a flock or herd), seeking companionship and mutual help from their fellows. Thus citizenship, in the simplest sense of the word, is imposed upon us all, whether we desire it or not. It is a far cry, however, from the elementary citizenship which exists in a wandering tribe to the complex society which has developed in all civilized countries. Modern civilization, with its countless branches and activities, brings with it a higher form of citizenship, which must be realized by all, and valued by everyone who has the right to claim it.

No man can be a good citizen until he sees quite clearly and definitely that, in return for the privilege of using the great elements in the national life, safety for life and property, education, and many others to which reference has been made in earlier chapters, he has definite duties. It is useless for a citizen to say that he does not care how things are managed, or how the conveniences of life are secured for him, provided he is left alone to go his own way undisturbed. If he takes up this attitude, which we may call a "negative" one, he is a citizen in name only.

Citizenship means duty: more than that, however, it is to be looked on as a thing of value. Frequently it is only when people go abroad that they realize what exactly is meant by being a British citizen. For the first time they may find it necessary to have certain of their interests looked after. They make use of our representatives in foreign countries, our ambassadors and consuls, and find that to be a British citizen is a privilege of the highest value.

We ought not to need to go abroad to learn such a lesson. The value of British citizenship stares us in the face. Take a walk along the street in which you live. Witness the law

and order that are preserved, the security which each person has, the means of lighting, the road and pavement itself—all of them examples of what the community has done. Each citizen has a share in these things, and if he makes use of them all, and gives nothing in return except the grudging payment of his rates and taxes, he is failing to perceive one thing in his daily life which has a permanent value and worth, namely, his citizenship.

2. THE CITIZEN'S DUTY TO HIMSELF

The citizen is a member of society, of a community to which he owes certain duties. Yet every man and woman, every boy and girl, has an individual life to live, which, in the last resort, cannot be shared with anyone else.

In this purely individual life one of his first duties is towards his body. The human body has been likened to a temple. Temples are those rare and beautiful manifestations of man's work in his desire to show his reverence and worship of God. Built with infinite care, with a constant eye to beauty, enriched with all the art and craft of man, these temples are so looked upon that it is regarded as a sin to do any harm to them, to desecrate them. The temple of the human body is to be looked upon in exactly the same way as a temple of God. It must suffer no desecration.

The great duty, then, of the individual with regard to his body is to keep it clean and pure, and to see that it is not wilfully harmed. Cleanliness is all important. It has often been said with great truth that an unclean body makes an unclean mind. Undoubtedly cleanliness of body has a great effect not only on the mind, bracing it and making it energetic and vital, but on the whole character. It may be safely said that a nation of dirty people is a backward nation. But where cleanliness, tidiness, and smartness is the rule, you will

find the citizens keen and active, and always in the vanguard of the civilized nations.

In the little community of the school the same thing is to be seen. How delighted we are, at a school football match, to watch the players come on to the field neatly dressed, trim and smart, ready for the fray. We get confidence in our side from the very outset from this one simple fact of cleanliness. Is it not true that a side which is slovenly dressed plays slovenly football? In the bigger field of life, after school-days are past, cleanliness plays its part. Boys and girls who apply for situations, and present themselves for interviews dressed neatly and tidy, not necessarily wearing costly clothes or adornments, but showing from their physical condition that they have a proper pride in their appearance, are always certain of making a favourable impression. These statements may seem so commonplace that they may be held to be hardly worth making. Yet ask any man in a responsible position, who has to select young persons for posts, what his experience has been, and one will be surprised at the number of persons who, though possessed of excellent qualifications, neglect to take into account this first duty towards the temple of the body.

There is another side to the individual life which each must lead. "Stay at home in your mind," said Emerson, the great American writer. What did he mean by this remark? Another way of putting it would be to say: Use your own mind; do not be content always to take the opinions of other people; do not be a "second-hand man"; do not refuse the opinions of others, but, when you have come to the full stature of citizenship, make your mind your kingdom. The poet Dyer, whose work is little known to-day, has a fine stanza on this, which runs as follows:—

" My mind to me a kingdom is
Such present joys therein I find

That it excels all other bliss
That earth affords or grows by kind.
Though much I want which most would have,
Yet still my mind forbids to crave."

While at school it is almost impossible to carry this out, for the scholar is largely dependent on the guidance of his masters and mistresses. Nevertheless it is possible, even when at school, to look upon the affairs of the daily life—games, studies, companionships—from a point of view that is your very own.

It is surprising to note how few people think matters out for themselves. They are all too satisfied to take the opinions, ideas, and beliefs of others without the pain of thought for themselves. Thoughtfulness means exertion of the mind. It involves effort and concentration; and surely all people who put a proper value on themselves, their education, their duties as citizens, will take a pride in giving consideration to the problems which constantly arise. If they do not, they have, in the true sense, no kingdom of the mind, no fortress that cannot be assailed. There is no more satisfactory thing in life than to give careful and thorough consideration of questions, public and private, which are forced upon our attention, and, having given thought, to come to a definite workable conclusion, which is the result of unaided effort.

The connection between the mind and the body must never be forgotten. In older times it was the belief of many deeply religious people that the mind or spirit could be exalted and made strong only at the expense of the body. They believed that the highest virtues came to a man when he starved his bodily frame. That belief still exists, but for the majority of people it can hold no attractions. It is not a normal life, and, moreover, is hardly possible under the con-

ditions of life of to-day. Those who must work for a living must keep the body well nourished.

The more natural and proper fact to notice is that the mind and the body, growing and developing together, have each their place in the sum of our lives.

“ Brain and blood and spirit, three,
Join for true felicity,”

wrote George Meredith in his poem *The Woods of Westermain*, and his words are accepted as true and just by the greatest proportion of men and women in modern times.

It is a recognized fact that no school education is complete which does not take into account the needs of the body as well as those of the mind. Each has its place. We play games primarily for the enjoyment we get from them, yet their use is more than for enjoyment. Games preserve the balance between the mind and the body. When school-days are past, it often happens that a man is so placed that he has practically no time or chance of playing games. Yet, if he wishes to do his best both for himself and for his country, he will take measures to hold the balance. Health of body makes for sanity of mind. The healthiest writers in English literature have been healthy individuals. Clearness of judgment, independence of thought and action, success in life, comes most easily to those who, while they do not unduly gratify the body, yet do not neglect it. What is most needed is a sense of proportion, of fitness. The balance must be maintained. A healthy body in which the mind is badly trained, and works but feebly, is no less useless than a highly trained mind in a sickly and unhealthy body.

3. THE DIGNITY OF WORK

Few of us can afford to be idlers. The stern necessity of earning a living demands that we should work, not now and

again only, but with steadiness and regularity. Practically every boy and girl knows that, when school-days are past, the world lies ahead, in which only by individual hard work is it possible to gain a livelihood that will bring to them not alone the bare necessities of life, but all those things which will contribute to our happiness and enjoyment.

To-day the boy and girl, on leaving school, have a much wider choice of occupations than could be had in earlier days. Parents and children alike are often bewildered by the number of avenues which may be entered. The choice, then, is no light affair, no matter to be settled off-hand.

It is of the very highest importance, for, when the choice has been made, it is not easy to draw back, to turn to some profession or occupation entirely different. To do so is always to risk failure. And therefore, in choosing a profession, one ought always to consider not merely whether it will bring out eventually great wealth, but whether it will provide one of the biggest things in the individual's life, from which he can draw pride and satisfaction.

It is not too much to say that from every kind of honest work, performed to the utmost limit of our power, we are able to attain this pride and satisfaction. Modern methods of business, the structure of society in these days, are such that it is of necessity the lot of millions of workers to be engaged upon tasks which repeat themselves without variety. Routine is certainly a bad thing for many men. They get into a rut; they see no end to their work; often they appear to see no actual finished result of it, and they become the "slaves" of routine. When a man gets into this condition, those feelings of pride and satisfaction which we mentioned above vanish, and while the work may not suffer greatly, the character of the man certainly does.

The thing to be remembered is that routine work—labour without variety and changes—when looked upon in a proper

spirit, is every whit as dignified and worthy as those forms of occupations which in themselves create interest. Everything depends on the spirit and resolution which we apply to our tasks. However dull and uninspiring the work may be, if we bring to it real and honest effort, if we do our bit so that we can receive from those above us in authority the welcome words of praise "well done", our labour is a thing of dignity, bringing with it a certain greatness of character.

"Work apace, apace, apace,
Honest labour bears a lovely face,"

sang Dekker in his fine poem *The Happy Heart*, which tells of the contentment of mind that comes from work well done. The rudest forms of labour are not without their grandeur, if only the man at his task can view his work from the right angle and in the true spirit.

The connection between work and citizenship is very close. To the welfare of the nation every citizen contributes his part, if he is worthy of the name, and one principal means of doing this is to work earnestly and faithfully. The prosperity of the nation is largely measured by the work of the individuals composing the nation, and, therefore, laziness on the part of individual citizens or sections of citizens helps to lessen that prosperity. The nation which secures from all its citizens willing work, and so arranges its affairs that the work shall be done under the best possible conditions not only for the actual working hours, but for the periods of leisure, is on the highway to prosperity and to a general happiness on the part of the citizens.

4. ON COURAGE

At a very early age in school life we learn something of what is known as "public spirit". Within the family this can hardly be learned; but as soon as we learn in school the

traditions, the attitude towards cowardice, sneaking, deceitfulness, and the like, we are gaining some notion of what is meant by this public spirit. The general laws which govern us in our relations with class-mates are never written down in black-and-white. One does not see pasted upon the schoolroom walls the words "No honourable scholar will be a tale-bearer". Yet everyone knows, without absolutely being told it, that tale-bearing is contrary to all the rules and decent customs which exist between scholars. These unwritten laws are very strong, and are the product not of one lad's mind, but of many generations of scholars. Practically without exception they are good rules, and, though we do not recognize the fact at the time, they are the mature judgments of what may be called in general terms the school "society". The ideas, the feelings, in brief, the spirit of a long succession of scholars has gone to the making of these unwritten rules, and has formed the public spirit of the school.

What is true of the school, is true of the world beyond its walls. In every walk of life we are governed by certain unwritten rules of general conduct, by the public spirit. In a country whose inhabitants are energetic, and whose life is pure and wholesome, the tone of these laws is good. But from time to time bad features creep in.

This is the time for courage. Both in school and in the world at large citizens of every age sooner or later are faced with certain things in the public life which they dislike intensely. They know these influences to be bad, and it takes very real courage of heart to stand out against them. For we all by nature tend to shrink from battles that have to be fought out in the first place within ourselves. Yet, once the resolution is firmly taken to stand out against those things in the public life which we believe to be bad, whether in the little world of the school or the whole country, it may be at

the risk of great personal unpopularity, a satisfaction is gained that is a priceless possession.

Great statesmen in the past history of our country, who have taken their courage in both hands, and assailed what they firmly believed to be bad for the country, have generally, at the time, been met with every kind of misrepresentation. Often they have been slandered, and opponents have dragged their reputation in the dust, but in the end their courage and wisdom have been fully recognized, and have received that honour which was their due.

Courage, then, is needed for good citizenship. By weakly lying down before those things which appear to be tolerated by the mass of the people, but which the individual citizen believes to be wrong and bad, is to be denying and refusing a great privilege. A nation of courageous citizens need have no fear that its public life and spirit will become bad, for courage to speak his mind on the part of every citizen is the surest way to purity.

In his stirring poem called *If*—which is quoted below—Mr. Rudyard Kipling refers not only to physical heroism, but to that courage of the mind and heart which is to be exercised not necessarily on any field of war, but in the simple daily events of the life of every individual person.

“ If you can keep your head when all about you
Are losing theirs and blaming it on you;
If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,
But make allowance for their doubting too;
If you can wait, and not be tired by waiting,
Or being lied about, don’t deal in lies,
Or being hated, don’t give way to hating,
And yet don’t look too good, nor talk too wise;

“ If you can dream—and not make dreams your master;
If you can think—and not make thoughts your aim;

If you can meet with Triumph and Disaster
And treat those two impostors just the same;
If you can bear to hear the truth you've spoken
Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools,
Or watch the things you gave your life to broken,
And stoop and build 'em up with worn-out tools;

“ If you can make a heap of all your winnings
And risk it on one turn of pitch-and-toss,
And lose, and start again at your beginnings
And never breathe a word about your loss;
If you can force your heart and nerve and sinew
To serve your turn long after they are gone,
And so hold on when there is nothing in you
Except the will which says to them: ‘ Hold on!’

“ If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,
Or walk with kings—nor lose the common touch;
If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you;
If all men count with you, but none too much;
If you can fill the unforgiving minute
With sixty seconds' worth of distance run,
Yours is the earth, and everything that's in it,
And—which is more—you'll be a Man, my son!”

—*Rudyard Kipling.*

5. LEISURE

Every schoolboy knows the value and the pleasure of those intervals from school-work which are a welcome part of the school-day, and holidays bring with them a glorious sense of freedom. Boys and girls at school, for the most part, require no teaching on how to utilize the spare times at their disposal. They have practically always sufficient energy and interest to keep them employed.

It is when we are hard at work at our calling, which takes up the greater part of the day, that the problem arises—how best to use the fleeting hours of leisure. Fatigue is the great

enemy of leisure, for when a man is thoroughly tired in the performance of his daily duties, his mind and body cannot respond to the plans which he may lay for spending the precious hours.

Yet it is the lot of the great mass of people to have work which does not completely tire them out, and therefore they are able to enjoy the leisure hours.

In dealing with this subject, the first thing to notice is that absence of occupation, complete idleness, does not necessarily mean leisure. Some men there are who can sit quietly for hours at a stretch apparently doing nothing. Question them on how they can thus be content to pass the hours, and you will find that while the body has been at rest, the mind has been at work, the imagination busy, and the thoughts and pictures that have passed through the mind have been a source of great comfort and pleasure.

But for most people leisure is best enjoyed by a complete change of active occupation. The British race is renowned throughout the world for its greatness in every branch of sport. In games of every kind we not only find an outlet for surplus energy, but find the means of a direct change of occupation. Our thoughts are taken away from the worries that come upon us in our work, and a refreshment of mind and body is gained that makes us better fitted for our work, and for playing a strenuous part in the life of the community.

It matters not what our hours of pastime be spent upon, provided only we engage ourselves upon affairs that are worth doing. To play games, to pursue such hobbies as photography, painting, drawing, fretwork, to read every kind of book that is of good repute, to go upon walks, to visit the theatre, to spend evenings in the company of friends, to learn to play a musical instrument—all these things provide that change of occupation which everyone should have.

In the country and in the smaller towns it is comparatively easy to find the means for the passing of the hours of leisure. In the huge cities the case is different. Frequently we cannot get out into the country, for we have neither time nor money to spare. Open spaces for play are not too numerous, and thus the opportunities are lessened. To the boy and girl, therefore, of the great city, the problem of the right use of spare time comes much earlier than to their country cousins. To them it is of the utmost importance that early in their lives they should form some good habit whereby the pleasure of the spare time hour may be maintained. How often in the great cities we see crowds of people wandering aimlessly about! They appear to have no purpose, no end in view, nothing definite to do. Therein lies great danger, for it is precisely in these hours, spent without aims, that habits are learnt which do no good to their possessor. The leisure of such aimless crowds is no real leisure; it is without profit, and the pleasure is hard to find, and, moreover, those evils which abound in great cities are generally the direct result of the absence of a purpose in the passing of the hours of ease.

One thing is open to every citizen on which he can engage his attention after the day's work. He can take an active part in the affairs of his community. However small the part may be, in occupying his leisure with the affairs of his village, or town, or city, he is exercising himself for the good of his community, and is thereby learning that virtue of unselfishness which is necessary to all citizenship. Many a man has brought out the very best things in his character by quiet and faithful work on local councils. It is not generally work which brings with it great applause; it is done without fuss or display; frequently only a few people know how sterling has been the quality of the services rendered. That does not matter. If it makes a man feel that, in his own quiet

way, he has been doing a great amount of good on behalf of his fellow-citizens, that in itself is reward enough.

6. THE CITIZEN OF THE WORLD

In bygone times the life of the ordinary citizen was bounded by his village and his parish. Those who made extensive journeys were few. The means of transport was lacking, news of the outer world came slowly, and the modern inventions which make rapid communication and transit possible were altogether unknown.

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that people remote from the biggest towns were ignorant of the lives and customs of the inhabitants of other lands. In Great Britain and Ireland we were to a great extent shut off from the rest of Europe by the fact of our island homes. As a consequence of this, Britons in the past have often been proclaimed narrow in their outlook. They have been described as "insular".

During the nineteenth century, communication with the European capitals and indeed with all the world became increasingly great, and we learnt to know other peoples and other manners.

Then came the Great War, throwing nations together in conflict against that nation which would be mistress of the world. The male British citizen of fighting age soon lost all his insularity and narrowness. For more than four years our soldiers fought and toiled in Belgium, France, Egypt, Africa, Palestine, Greece, and Russia, learning to know the peoples, coming into close touch with the citizens of these countries in a way that no man would have thought possible.

We shall never again regain our supposed insularity, and indeed we do not wish that we should. We have to recognize that beyond the seas, and across the narrow Straits, dwell citizens whose lives, whose hopes and fears and ambitions are not unlike our own. In a thousand outward respects

they differ from us, for every nation has its own peculiar characteristics, just as every single individual is in some degree different from every other individual. Yet that is no reason why we should not strive to know these peculiarities.

In the Treaty of Peace signed at Versailles, provision has been made for a League of Nations, by means of which it is hoped that a recurrence of such great wars as that of 1914 may be averted, and that a method will be found of settling quarrels among the nations which does not involve the terrible slaughter of the flower of the nations' manhood.

If such a league between the nations is to gain success in its great and worthy object, it must come, partly at least, by means of a wide-spread knowledge among the citizens of every country of the characteristics, education, habits, modes of thought of the other countries within the league.

Thus, while to the British citizen his own country and its affairs must always come first in his attention, he cannot afford to neglect any and every opportunity of gaining such knowledge, and exercising such sympathy, as will fit him to become a "citizen of the world".

CHAPTER XVII

THE BRITON'S HERITAGE

I. FREEDOM

" A! Freedom is a noble thing!
Freedom makes man to have liking¹;
Freedom all solace to man gives;
He lives at ease that freely lives."

Thus sang the old Scottish poet Barbour, in those far-off days of the fourteenth century when the word freedom conveyed a depth of meaning which we to-day can scarcely understand. The heritage of liberty handed down to us by our forefathers is a matter of such grandeur that it cannot be too often brought sharply before us. So accustomed are the citizens of Britain to the right of freedom of speech, freedom of religious belief, freedom to go about their ways without harm, that they sometimes forget how bitter was the struggle in the past.

We cannot here attempt to trace the history of Britain; the story of the fight for liberty has gone on without interruption. In earlier days it was a fight on the field of battle. The Civil Wars of the days of the Stuart monarchs illustrate this in a striking fashion. In later days actual weapons of war were laid aside, and men accomplished by means of Parliament what had in earlier days been decided in war, involving loss of life and fortune. The whole course of the history of the politics of last century shows a sturdy fight not for liberty alone, but for the right of every person, however

¹ Liking, liberty, to please himself.

humble of birth and station in life, to a good home, to work, to education, and to provision for his dependents.

Thus it comes that among all the nations in the world there is none so renowned as Britain for the freedom which the citizen enjoys, and as a consequence it has become a refuge for thousands of citizens of other nations, who, seeing no prospect of peace and liberty in their own land, sought a home in this country.

This right to freedom of life bears with it that responsibility which, as we have seen, always goes with every privilege. For it is the duty of every citizen to watch that, while enjoying the freedom of which we speak, he does not attempt to go beyond the limits which are laid down by the laws by which we are governed. These laws have been so framed through centuries of work in British Parliaments that they do not prevent the citizen from the decent and ordinary enjoyment of his liberty; but when a citizen so conducts himself that he breaks the laws, he is punished not only for his wrong-doing, but also that his fellow-citizens may be certain of protection from his actions. There are always to be found citizens who do not realize the difference between liberty and licence. Liberty is freedom within the laws which govern a community. Licence is an attempt to own no law, except of one's own making. It will easily be seen that if everyone lived according to what he thought fit and proper, taking no one else into account, we should have none of that order and regularity in life which is absolutely necessary.

Let every person, then, in this country realize how great are the fruits of the struggles of his ancestors, and let him take every opportunity of preserving his great heritage for himself, for the body of citizens among whom he dwells, and for those young citizens of Britain whose time is yet to come.

2. LOVE OF COUNTRY

There is a false patriotism as well as a true and real love of country. To believe and act as if the British nation was a perfect one, that there were no flaws in the characters of its citizens, would be merely to make us look foolish in the eyes of other nations. Yet there are many citizens of this country who, by their speech and action, do lead other peoples to this belief. That is false patriotism, benefiting neither the country nor the citizen.

But there is that true patriotism in a good citizen by which he loves his country, seeing all the while its faults, and trying his very best to make these faults a little less glaring. He has a genuine love of country. It is most likely that this great affection for his native land springs first of all from a great love of the place in which he was born, and in which he spent his happiest years. The poetry of British literature is filled with examples of this love of native places. Take, as an instance, the words of a poet now little read, William Browne, the author of "Britannia's Pastorals". The theme is Devonshire, and surely there is no county in all Britain that offers a more inspiring subject. He was born at Tavistock in 1590, and many years after that date he writes this glowing verse:—

"Hail, thou my native soil! thou blessed plot,
Whose equal all the world affordeth not.
Show me who can, so many crystal rills,
Such sweet-clothed valleys or aspiring hills;
Such wood-ground, pastures, quarries, wealthy mines,
Such rocks in which the diamond fairly shines;
And if the earth can show the like again
Yet will she fail in her sea-ruling men.
Time never can induce men to o'ertake
The fames of Grenville, Davies, Gilbert, Drake,

Or worthy Hawkins, or of thousands more
That by their power made the Devonian shore
Mock the proud Tagus; for whose richest spoil
The boasting Spaniard left the Indian soil
Bankrupt of store, knowing it would quit cost
By winning this, though all the rest were lost."

Not all the citizens of this country can boast of so beautiful a birthplace as the county of Devon, and though it is not so easy to love the huge cities and towns of Britain, it will nevertheless be found that for the spot in which our early days have been passed, however ugly it may be, we have a great fondness that increases with each year of our lives.

As we grow older our patriotism becomes a more complex thing. It is woven of many strands. We become conscious of our nationality. We feel ourselves to be at home in Britain in a way that cannot be felt anywhere else.

And if it be asked what this nationality is in which we take great pride, the answer is a little difficult to find.

What exactly is a nation? Is it a collection of people of the same race? It can hardly be that, for British citizens do not all come from the same stock. Is it a vast community of people all speaking the same language? The answer does not lie there. The American nation speaks the English language, yet how great are the differences in national characteristics between the American and the Briton. Nor is it a mere matter of geography. The fact that ours is an island home has undoubtedly helped in the formation of the national character, but that does not supply the answer.

A great French writer of the last century, pondering on this question, came to this wise conclusion. He said that the foundation of all nationality was "a rich heritage of memories". There is to be found the bond that links the citizens of a nation together.

A people which has no past history can hardly be called

a nation. But where among the citizens of a country there has been handed down a long succession of noble memories, a nation may be said truly to exist. For these memories do not belong only to a few citizens. They are held in common by all.

The highest patriotism, then, to which the British citizen can attain is to ensure by his life and actions that this "rich heritage of memories", which we as a nation can claim with pride and affection, will never be made less fine, less worthy of honour. He will strive so to maintain the greatness of his country that the present time in which he lives will, in the eyes of future generations of citizens, take an honourable place in the long succession of noble memories which gather round the name of Britain.

Boys and girls who read the history of the country with intelligence will see much in the past that was evil, but also much that was great and of good report. The heritage is no unworthy one. It is a thing which we can well revere. The young reader who can recall the beautiful and heroic deeds of the past, who can point with pride to the unceasing development of this country's enterprises in every direction, who can learn from the lives of its great men what it means to bear the burden and the heat of the day on behalf of one's native land, is on the high road towards making himself a sound and efficient British citizen.

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